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On endpaper viewed sideways: On right above is the title page and on left above the opening page of The Trimetrical Classic *newly edited by Chang T'ai-yen (Ping-ling). Below on right is the title page of a missionary work of 1870 called* Trimetrical Classic of the Sacred Teaching *(*sheng-chiao, *an ambiguous phrase that might also mean Confucianism), and below on left is its opening page.*

Christianity in China

Harvard Studies in American–East Asian Relations 9

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edited by

SUZANNE WILSON BARNETT
and JOHN KING FAIRBANK

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Christianity in China

Early Protestant Missionary Writings

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PREFACE

The effort to illuminate Christianity as it appears in Chinese owes its greatest debt to the thoughtful missionaries and managers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was founded by Congregationalists in 1810 as the first foreign missionary society in the United States. From the early nineteenth century through the late 1920s, missionaries in the field regularly sent their tracts and other writings back to Boston. In 1960, the American Board archives found a new home at Harvard University, with manuscripts deposited in the Houghton Rare Book Library and Chinese publications in the Harvard-Yenching Library of East Asian materials.

For over a decade, the missionary writings in Chinese rested on dusty shelves. Researchers did not ignore them altogether, however, and the process of identifying authors and other publication data for individual titles began early in the 1960s with the work of Kwang-Ching Liu, then at Harvard and now at the University of California, Davis. In the mid-1970s John Yung-hsiang Lai, of the Harvard-Yenching Library staff, produced a full catalogue of the Chinese collection.

Protestant missionaries met the Chinese common people on street corners and in villages, always distributing religious tracts and sometimes secular educational materials as well. Into their spoken and printed messages of salvation, missionaries put the values of their own cultural background. At the same time, their use of the Chinese idiom and their English-language writings measured their understanding of Chinese culture. Thus the role of missionaries as cultural brokers took them beyond theology. To understand the function of Christian values and Western ideas in China's modern transformation we must begin by knowing what the American and other Protestant missionaries published and how they proceeded with their work.

Inspired by the Harvard-Yenching collection of missionary-authored tracts and textbooks, and with assistance from John Fairbank, I organized a team of China historians for a research project on Chinese-American interaction funded by the Henry Luce Foundation and conducted at Harvard. The authors of articles in this book gathered for a workshop in July 1977 and a conference in 1978. This resulting volume of conference papers benefits from John Fairbank's firm hand as editor and contributor of the introduction.

Many people participated in this project beyond those who have contributed to these pages. Martha Wallace, Former Director of the Henry Luce Foundation, and her staff helped it move forward. Eugene Wu, Director of the Harvard-Yenching Library, facilitated research. John Lai shepherded the tract collection. The Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard provided institutional support. Samuel Chu, Barbara Welter, and Robert Strayer enriched the conference through their papers and comments. I am grateful also to Peter Stanley, formerly of Harvard and now at the Ford Foundation, for coordination of the several Harvard Luce projects. Most of all I am grateful to John Fairbank for help in making this volume available as a guide and stimulus to further work.

Suzanne Wilson Barnett
University of Puget Sound
January 1984

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Christianity in China

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: The Place of Protestant Writings in China's Cultural History

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

The studies in this volume explore what the Protestant pioneers of the nineteenth century wrote in Chinese for their target audience. When Alexander Wylie listed the 338 missionaries who had arrived in China as of 1867, his bibliography of their Chinese publications totaled about 787 items. Many of these tracts, translations of scripture, periodicals, and Chinese books are in the collection extracted from the files of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and housed at the Harvard-Yenching Library.[1] The present volume results from a research conference held at Harvard in August 1978, financed by the Luce Foundation. Organized and led by Suzanne W. Barnett, it studied important examples of these missionary writings.[2] They offer a shortcut into the Chinese scene,

and can put us on the operating level where Christianity met its Chinese public. Meanwhile, the same missionaries wrote about China for their home constituencies.

In China's nineteenth-century relations with the West, Protestant missionaries are still the least studied but most significant actors in the scene. Where merchants and diplomats by the nature of their professions normally had to collaborate, or at least communicate if not cooperate, with their opposite numbers across the international-cultural boundary, Protestant missionaries by their calling were aggressive individualists in thought and attitude, often in conflict with the established order in China. To be sure, their aggressiveness was shared by the merchants seeking profits and by the Western officials seeking to open China. But only the missionaries sought direct contact with the common people in the two civilizations. They were the principal if not the sole link between village China and small-town America. Only they sought to change Chinese minds and hearts. They penetrated farthest into Chinese life and became among all the foreign invaders the most deeply involved in the local scene. Meanwhile, in order to maintain the support of their home constituencies, they were also the foreigners in China who reported most fully, if selectively, about China to the Western public. This dual role as activists has given them their historical ambivalence as saviors or at least benefactors of the Chinese people in the eyes of some and as cultural imperialists in the eyes of others.[3]

Why this protean subject has been so long neglected by American historians is a mystery to be probed. Our difficulty in explaining this neglect presumably reflects, first of all, the underlying difficulties of research on the subject. The inquiring investigator confronts a whole series of barriers. First is the problem of getting at the facts—for example, exactly how many missionaries were active in China between 1807 and the 1950s. Ideally, we should seek the precise details of all their activities in language study, preaching, and good works—in education, medicine, and other lines.[4] On the American side of the missionary movement, the record is diffuse but overwhelmingly voluminous. Missionaries wrote almost as much as they preached. Their American constituency back home was, in some ways, even more important to them than their Chinese converts, and

sometimes received almost equal attention. The researcher's problem is how to burrow through such mountains of often low-grade material.[5]

On the Chinese side of Protestant missions, the situation is far different. We are almost totally uninformed about the Chinese Christian community, its membership and influence. Chinese materials are not lacking. But, for example, six volumes of the *Chiao-hui hsin-pao* (Church news) remain largely unused.[6] Protestantism as a Chinese faith has been best studied in modern terms in Japanese. One of the best known aspects of it is the anti-Christian movement that attacked it in the 1920s.[7]

If ignorance of the facts were our only problem, solutions could be found by hard work. But more serious problems confront us on the plane of interpretation, beginning with the slippery question of cultural contact. No doubt we may reasonably start with the hypothesis that late imperial China and the West were intelligibly discrete cultures, entities defined by the differences in their attainments and behavior patterns. But this will not get us very far. The very high level of generality implied in any discussion of "China" and "the West" should remind us that history, as our constantly shifting image of the past, is far from an exact descriptive science. The cultural traits typical of "China" or "the West" are a subject for metahistory or journalism. The super-complexity we recognize in the West was very nearly matched in China.

For example, where the two cultures met on the China coast in the nineteenth century, cultural traits were extremely various, for in the previous thousand years many peoples had met the Chinese and mingled with them there—Arabs, Malays, Mongols, and Japanese, as well as all sorts of Europeans, including Franciscans, Jesuits, and other Catholic orders, long before the first Protestant missionaries. When the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, sent the Protestant pioneer Robert Morrison to Canton in 1807, that port had already been a focus of regular East India Company trade for 92 years.

This makes the Chinese ban on Christianity all the more significant. Watchful Ch'ing officials at Canton had stopped this foreign religion's proselytizing more successfully than they could check the inflow of opium. Evidently they considered the

propagation of alien doctrine more dangerous than the sale of a mere drug.

Matching the mandarins' effort to preserve China's cultural integrity was the cultural cohesiveness of the Anglo-Saxon intruders. In 1834, just as the Canton system began to break up, private merchants joined the missionaries in a program of secular publication in Chinese through the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDK). Its non-religious Chinese-language accounts of the West—encyclopaedic histories of the world, Britain and the United States in particular—tried to spread a "democratic gospel"[8] of Western progress in economic and political life that was a good deal broader than the specific tenets of Protestant Christianity. Thus, if Morrison, Gützlaff, Bridgman, and Williams were the forerunners of still another Western movement to Christianize China, which in a literal sense did not succeed (in fact it made fewer converts than Buddhism or Islam had made in their heyday), the fact remains that the missionaries had a potent influence in China, not always religious, in several realms awaiting futher exploration.

At the same time, the studies in this volume make plain how profoundly the missionary writers were influenced by their growing appreciation of the Chinese cultural tradition. Trying to fit into it in the role of scholars, the better to have influence in changing it, they found themselves working on a two-way street. They transmitted images of China to the West while also shaping Chinese views of the outside world. Their personal aim was to influence the Chinese religiously, but their historic function, as it turned out, was to transmit ideas and images in both directions.

Thus, the early Protestant mission to the Chinese was broadly representative of Protestant Europe and America—the vigor of their nineteenth-century expansion infused the self-confidence of evangelists who felt they had received God's call, who believed that Christianity was a major component of Western progress in general, and that they must share their faith with the as yet unbelieving heathen. Anglo-American preponderance in Protestant missions indexed the rise of Britain and America to world power, beginning with the technology of sail and steam.

The Anglo-Saxons were moving outward, overseas. The U.S. Navy and the Bible followed their channels of trade.[9]

In this context, the exiguous treatment of missionary expansion by present-day historians continues to suggest a certain myopia within the historical profession. In studies of the worldwide expansion of the Atlantic community, interest in trade and capitalism has far outreached the less vigorous interest in Christian missions.[10] Yet, historical scholarship generally suggests that the human spirit has shown a considerable degree of variety, if not indeed autonomy, in its response to the material environment; and Western expansion seems to have been manifested in religious as much as in commercial channels. The comparative neglect of Christian missions by modern historians may be due to factors within Western society, in particular to the secular bent of the modern social sciences. Having seen liberal education so recently freed from the grip of the church, historians of the early twentieth century tended, perhaps unconsciously, to put religion behind them. The expansion of Christianity has thus remained a specialty for the missiologist, not in the mainstream of American history. This is one of several problems awaiting study at the Western end of the Protestant expansion. It is matched by the patriotic disinclination of scholars in revolutionary China to explore the positive contribution of the Chinese church in a period of foreign special privilege.

Similarly in need of substantive Sino-foreign attention is the Roman Catholic experience in China of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The Protestant pioneers of the nineteenth century were on a frontier where Jesuit pioneers had preceded them, to say nothing of the Franciscan pioneers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The full story of Christian proselytism in China still needs to be appraised as a whole.[11]

When we turn to the Chinese side of Christianity in China, precedents and unresolved problems are similarly numerous. China received Christianity in the light of its earlier experience in the reception of Buddhism and of Islam. Questions of foreign theology and its translation into Chinese terms, of the social role of religion and of church-state relations, all had a long

history, more subtle and more diverse than Robert Morrison or Elijah Coleman Bridgman could easily appreciate. The Protestant approach to China must be viewed against a broad background.

The final challenge, of course, is to view it in Chinese terms. From the beginning, Protestant evangelism undoubtedly startled many Chinese beholders. The missionary's evident conviction that he had a worthy message seemed to be backed by the power of European arms and trade, which after 1842 brought him into China. He was part of the Western invasion. Soon the great peasant rebellion of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom from 1851 to 1864 claimed to have as its inspiration its own version of Protestant Christianity. The rebellion's failure in the 1860s left the missionaries in worse repute than ever among the Chinese educated elite. The anti-Christian aversion of seventeenth-century xenophobes like Yang Kuang-hsien received a new lease on life. If China's traditional order felt itself under foreign attack, surely the missionary was its spearpoint.

This upper-class hostility was met by the Protestant missionaries in a fashion quite different from Matteo Ricci's accommodation of the late sixteenth century: Where the Jesuits had shunned the Portuguese traders at Macao and cleaved to the Chinese scholar-official class, Protestants of the early nineteenth century found support among the foreign merchants in Chinese ports and sought to find converts among the Chinese common people and the lower stratum of the literati, not the ruling class. Unlike the Jesuits' proselytism through polite intellectual conversation, the pioneer Protestants, excluded from preaching before 1842 and generally shunned for a time thereafter, had recourse to the written word. This suited the original evangelical belief in the efficacy of the printed scriptures, if only they could be made available to the common man. Chinese conditions reinforced this literary predilection. The Protestant mission to the Chinese became in larger part a matter of print.

This gives us today a more accessible object of analysis. In the absence of a detailed picture of the missionaries' day-to-day interaction with their Chinese environment, we can begin by looking at "the precise language of the textual material that impinges on the host culture."[12]

THE SINIFICATION OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

All the writings described in this volume come from the cultural frontier on which missionaries and their Chinese Christian coworkers were in action. As frontiersmen, the missionaries faced two ways, toward home and toward the field.

Toward their Chinese audience they had to use Chinese to convey the Gospel message, but this at once brought them into close and necessary collaboration with their Chinese assistants. Unlike the Sinologues who eventually emerged as scholars of Chinese in Paris, Leyden, or Cambridge, the early missionaries began without libraries and indeed almost without dictionaries. Morrison had to compile his own. So did Williams and Medhurst. Knowledge of the language consequently had to be gained mainly from Chinese teachers through long hours of application out of sight of the suspicious Chinese public. Over the years, sessions with their teachers as walking dictionaries became an integral part of most missionaries' daily routines. As the ambitious evangelist acquired his religious vocabulary and sought to compose tracts or translate scripture, his teacher-partner became indispensable, not only to draft in easy classical *wen-yen* style what was first discussed in vernacular *pai-hua,* but also, in the process, to be on the lookout for obscurities due to poor usage or unconventional phraseology, and especially for unintended puns that could trip up any writer of Chinese and induce in readers a sly smile if not an outright guffaw that would vitiate his purpose. Missionaries of talent, probably a minority, might become highly literate in Chinese, but none of them had begun life by memorizing the *Four Books* before they were adolescent, their calligraphy could seldom if ever be put on display, and so their immersion in the Chinese language and writing system could never be complete. In Chinese linguistic waters they were still land animals. Chinese assistance was essential to their reaching their Chinese audience.

Following the establishment of Christianity after 1860 as a tolerated and protected foreign enterprise, Chinese participation in the work of missions greatly increased. Chinese pastors, ordained or not, manned the outstations that penetrated

the villages beyond major centers. Thus, by 1905, the London Missionary Society had 80 missionaries in China, mainly at some 20 urban stations, outside of which were 320 outstations manned by Chinese Christians caring for local congregations. Similarly, in 1904, the American Board had 106 missionaries stationed mainly in 16 places while "207 native preachers had the primary responsibility for managing the 184 outstations."[13] Christianity in China from the first was a Sino-foreign enterprise. The largely unrecorded participation of Chinese in the foreign missionary enterprise may be likened to the generally unsung achievements of women in pre-modern history—judging by the results, we can be sure that they were there and that they functioned in certain indispensable ways.[14]

A counterpart to the Chinese teacher's and pastor's role in missions can be seen in the tobacco industry in China. James B. Duke's foreign salesmen who opened up the Chinese cigarette market for the British American Tobacco Company in the 1890–1915 era felt themselves to be "pioneers" and have been so described; but it now develops, on a closer look, that they only energized and supervised the work of Chinese agents, employees, and colleagues who introduced BAT cigarettes into the multifarious channels of Chinese domestic commerce by using the networks of personal relationships, transportation, and credit that already existed there.[15]

The equivalent situation in the missionary enterprise lay in the relationship between Christianity and China's indigenous religious life. How did Protestantism fit into the rather variegated Chinese religious scene? Cultural assimilation usually implies indigenization, becoming part of the local situation, in this case, Sinification. Yet, it must be recognized that this is partly a matter of perception—what is seen as foreign and what Chinese—and so depends partly on who is doing the perceiving. This fact provides the basis for what we may call a law of cultural diffraction—that in processes of cultural contact and exchange or assimilation of cultural traits, each side is most aware of its own participants and less aware of the other side's participants. Looking through its own prism, each side sees mainly its own problems, motives, and protagonists. This, of course, is only natural. Thus, Alexander Wylie's valuable *Memorials* volume records the

foreign missionaries but not the Chinese literati who served as their teacher-assistants, although we now know that one of them, Wang T'ao, who eventually helped James Legge translate the *Chinese Classics,* became an historic figure in his own right.[16] Thus again, the useful histories of the Christian colleges can tell us what Americans taught in them but lack the characters to identify the names of the students whose training was the object of the college teaching.[17]

Allowing for this factor of cultural diffraction, we may conclude that the essential participation of Chinese personnel was the first step in the Sinification of Protestant Christianity.

The Chinese terms in which Protestant Christianity was expressed constituted a second step in its Sinification. These terms had, of course, long since been prepared in Chinese literature, beginning with writings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism concerning morality and evil, Heaven and hell, salvation and the afterlife. (Examples are noted in most chapters below, but see especially pp. 131, 148.) Catholic Christianity had appropriated the Chinese terms it needed. The early Protestants at Canton and Macao were following in the footsteps of Matteo Ricci and his colleagues of two hundred years before. Roman Catholic Christianity had had more than a century of development at the court of Peking after 1600. Its terminology in Chinese had become well established. While we can assume that it was a matter of common knowledge among Protestant missionary teachers, a precise comparison of Catholic and Protestant terminology in Chinese seems not yet to have been made. Both were indebted to China's age-old "three religions" for a vocabulary dealing with conscience, the sense of shame, sin, guilt, repentance, faith, and the like. A repertoire of Chinese religious terms was already in being for Protestant selection and use.[18]

The final step in the Sinification of Christianity consisted of its being given official status as either a legitimate or a heterodox teaching. This act determined its relationship to the Chinese state, which conceived of itself through the person of the emperor as the guardian both of the Chinese social order and of the reigning dynasty's claim to Heaven's mandate. Matteo Ricci's great achievement had been to win respectability at the late Ming Court and secure formal toleration of Catholic Christianity.

This continued under the K'ang-hsi Emperor of the early Ch'ing. But after the Rites Controversy, in which the Jesuit policy of accommodation was attacked first by the mendicant orders and then by the Papacy itself, the status of Christianity as a heterodox sect had been clearly established. Its official proscription as heterodox in 1724 lasted until 1844.

When the nineteenth-century Protestants earnestly denounced Catholicism as a heterodox faith, they were only confirming the previous Chinese judgment. Since the Protestant denominations had all split off, in late Ming or early Ch'ing times, from the proscribed Religion of the Lord of Heaven (T'ien-chu chiao, that is, Catholicism), they could properly be viewed as splinter sects of a heterodoxy. Their social category had been assigned to them long since. Removal of their proscription as heterodox through enforced edicts of toleration in 1844 and later left them technically legitimate but still morally questionable by conservative xenophobes among the upper-class literati. This meant that the enlistment of Chinese helpers and the use of Chinese vocabulary and writings could only gradually bring Protestantism out of the shadow of heterodoxy. Its emergence was an index to the decline of the emperor's potency, specifically of his claim to control or at least to have a veto power over Chinese thought and culture. Protestantism came into China in an era of accelerating change, disintegration, and rebirth, and its growth went through a series of phases.

Any periodization of the growth of Protestant Christianity in nineteenth-century China must begin with an initial period of illegitimacy which lasts until the first treaty settlement of the 1840s. A second period then follows of gradual legitimation in the five early treaty ports. But, like foreign contact generally, proselytism becomes feasible only in a third period after the second treaty settlement of 1858–1860, and even then the winning of security for mission work, to say nothing of respectability, is a slow process with many setbacks. A fourth period can be seen to set in during the 1870–1880s, when mission boards become institutionally better organized in the West and ideas of the social gospel, exemplified in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, move from urban America to urban China. The studies in this volume begin with the first, pre-treaty

period, when intellectual approaches and working methods were developed that would continue into the second and third periods or even later.

Within this temporal framework, several features of the missionary's situation call for attention. The first, from the viewpoint of Chinese officialdom, was the question of its illegitimacy, a problem which diminished with time.

When Protestant Christianity appeared on the China coast and among the Overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia after 1807, its identity in Chinese terms had still to be defined. The Chinese view of Protestant Christianity as a heterodox sect has been explored by Daniel H. Bays elsewhere,[19] and is also touched upon in his Chapter 8 below. Since the Lord of Heaven Religion (Catholicism) was officially heterodox and subversive until the 1840s, Protestantism could be no less. It began in bad repute.

The missionaries' small audience, at first consisting mainly of the disaffected or the curious, was not unlike that of the Jesuits in an earlier century of domestic turmoil in China—a self-selected group, ready and waiting to be interested in a foreign faith. The Western religion from overseas simply joined the multiplicity of Buddhist- and Taoist-tinged sects within China. The Buddhist and Taoist religious establishments, once they had been brought under imperial control in medieval times by the ordination of monks and other means, were politically innocuous; and so were many of their sects and sectarian activities. Careful distinctions must be made within the manifold of Chinese religious activity between the legitimate and the heterodox, which were, however, not immutable categories. In general, the state denounced as heterodox and illegal those teachings that seemed to have the potential to set up a rival authority and so threaten the state's maintenance of order and control. This had been the fate of Catholicism in 1724 once the Pope had defied the Emperor's authority. Heterodox sects perforce lived underground or out of official sight. They commonly had unauthorized sacred books, rituals, doctrines of salvation and an afterlife, methods of medical healing, and moral writings, but naturally no custom of public preaching.

The missionaries were at first only vaguely aware of the social

role assigned them within the Chinese world. They were mindful of cultural differences, but their Chinese writings, on the whole, dealt with universal human values. Seizing upon points of Sino-Western agreement, they hoped Protestant tracts in Chinese could be subtle instruments of penetration, whatever the attitude of the Chinese state. But they found that their Protestant tracts often met their most lively acceptance among Chinese already interested in sectarian religion. This predisposition of Chinese sectarians to accept Protestant Christianity both profited and plagued the missionary enterprise. It created a place for the Protestant message but distorted it by that very accommodation. The use made of the tract that inspired the founder of the Taiping Rebellion was only the most obvious example of this distortion.

Palliating this generic identification with subversion was a second feature of the missionary movement, its looseness of organization. In its early contact with the seafaring populace along the coast and among merchants and hangers-on of foreign trade at Canton, the new religion must have seemed extraordinarily fragmented and individualistic. To the multiplicity of a dozen Western states of obscure location in the Great Western Ocean or Europe was now added a comparable multiplicity of Protestant religious denominations or sects. Even after a new phase of missionary contact began in the 1860s with peasant communities in villages outside major centers, Protestant particularism and its rivalry with the revived Catholic missions continued without compromise, much less cooperation. As with the foreign merchant capitalists in the China trade, missionaries found their individual opportunities and made of them what they could.

A third feature derived from this: Until the missionaries were protected by the treaties, they could not operate in an open market amenable to experiment and initiative; and this led them to find their pre-treaty market for proselytism in Southeast Asia. Since Robert Morrison at Canton and Macao after 1807 was not allowed to propagate the Gospel openly, he busied himself with language study and planning. He launched a cautious program of translations and tracts, employing literate Chinese helpers who were potential converts. He was joined by William Milne in 1813. Morrison was able to stay in Canton-Macao as translator

for the British East India Company, but Milne soon found that the London Missionary Society's three goals of achieving missionary competence in Chinese, translating scriptures, and printing them on a mission press could not be pursued under the restrictions imposed on foreigners at Canton. He therefore sailed south and established his Ultra-Ganges (Further India) mission at Malacca. There he set up the Anglo-Chinese College to educate youth and assist evangelism among the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia (the Chinese Nan-yang or Southern Ocean area), a region where European colonialism was beginning to grow toward its late-nineteenth-century climax. In this way, Protestant missions began a flank attack on China through the soft underbelly of expatriate Overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia not under the control of the Chinese government.

Finally, Christian tracts were a principal feature of mission work. Since the early Protestant missionaries often lacked the linguistic capacity and the opportunity for preaching, they resorted to the preparation and distribution of moral writings. Protestant translations of the scriptures and tracts promoting Christian values were added to the flow of moral literature in Chinese. This flow included the Confucian morality books (*shan-shu*) as well as Buddhist sutras, all of a legitimate nature, while the flow of subversive writings was limited by official proscription and punishment.

Tract-writing, of course, came from the evangelical movement in the Atlantic community, but in China there was added the function of tract preparation as an act of the missionaries' language study. New generations of missionary writers learned from the stock of published materials that had preceded them. For many new arrivals, producing a Chinese publication was a badge of initiation. It fulfilled the evangelical imperative in a manner especially suited to the China mission field and its constraints on missionary activity. It also helped the missionary fit into his social niche as a recognized literatus or teacher in the Chinese cultural scene.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS VOLUME

Early missionaries in China usually became, by circumstance if not by nature, outstanding personalities. Their careers were acts of affirmation, buoyed up by faith in an age of progress. They were both self-confident and magnanimous, seeking to spread their vision of a wider world enriched by the expansion of trade and political liberty as well as Christianity. These three, they generally felt, were an integral triune cause. Consequently they were not always prepared for the strength of the Chinese resistance to their intrusion, and their frustration sometimes surfaced in their English-language publications about China.

Toward home, missionaries always found it urgent to report to their constituencies; and their experience of China moved them often to join the legion of foreigners who, ever since the Japanese monk Ennin in the ninth century, have tried to describe the place. In this effort, they followed the Jesuits' example and created a new nineteenth-century image of China in the West, but, in the light of Western material progress and their own experience of the decay of the Confucian state, it was a most unflattering picture.

Among Chinese readers they soon sensed a demand for global knowledge of the world, and their writings tried to convey news of material progress and the growth of Western democracy as well as the gospel. In this way, they contributed to a new and less reassuring Chinese sense of identity. Their tracts in rather simple style were aimed at ordinary people of good will, but their influence can be assessed only case by case.

In the chapter immediately below, Daniel Bays summarizes the course of the tractarian movement and then analyzes one of the earliest and most successful Protestant tracts—William Milne's *The Two Friends,* a mainstay of the Protestant press in China from its first publication in 1819 through at least 17 editions over more than a century. It is a work of eminently rational dialogue between two highly civilized Chinese gentlemen, a far cry from the emotional fire and brimstone of Western revivalism.

Helping Milne and his missionary associates to produce such tracts was Liang Fa, an early Chinese convert and the first

ordained Protestant among the Chinese. Liang himself wrote a tract, *Good Words to Admonish the Age,* printed at Canton in 1832. Stressing the monotheism of Jehovah, this work influenced Chinese history by giving the founder of the Taiping Rebellion, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, his budget of Old Testament Christianity. Richard Bohr describes Liang's theological position through an analysis of *Good Words,* showing how, in spite of its stress on monotheism, it was an amalgam of Chinese and Western tenets. Liang's writings offer a case study in Sinification—how a Chinese convert found in Protestantism what he had been seeking in China.[20]

Another pioneer, Walter Henry Medhurst, experimented with missionary writings during his early years of evangelizing among Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. Jane Kate Leonard shows how the failure of his religious mission there led him to innovate, emphasizing secular learning, while at the same time narrowing and simplifying his religious tracts. These changes in his writings, an adaptive response to the Chinese setting, suggest the influence, not of Christian evangelism on the Chinese, but of the Chinese cultural setting on one of the founders of the Anglo-American missionary movement.

While Liang's mentors, Morrison, Milne, and Medhurst, cooperated to advance the missionary cause among the Chinese in Southeast Asia and on the China coast, Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff, a flamboyant and hyperactive individualist in the missionary ranks, made short forays into China itself. A prolific writer, he produced works in Chinese, English, and German, and gave his readers a broad view, for its time, of history and society, East and West, as well as religion. Jessie Lutz's survey of Gützlaff's writings and her analysis of their secular and religious content vividly illustrate the breadth of Protestant concerns even when combined with a straightforward, fairly simple theology of faith and salvation. The cultural differences between the Chinese and Western societies seemed to stand in the way of China's conversion, and missionaries felt the need to educate China about the West, to prove its worth by Chinese standards.

E. C. Bridgman is best known for editing *The Chinese Repository* (1832–1851), a major source of Western knowledge of China during the years spanning the Opium War (1839–1842)

and the early treaties. Fred Drake describes Bridgman's equally important writings in Chinese to present the West to Chinese audiences. Bridgman's *Short Account of the United States of America* was a major source of information about a particular Western society. Its basic story of the formation and organization of the American nation enjoyed a long influence in both China and Japan. Bridgman joined Gützlaff in the belief that purveying secular knowledge of the West would help the Protestant faith win Chinese believers.

Justus Doolittle, who arrived in Foochow in 1850, also wrote for both American and Chinese audiences, but is best remembered for his pioneer study, *Social Life of the Chinese.* Suzanne Barnett shows how his routine of hard work and team effort produced tracts to promote Christian values that would insure individual well-being and material prosperity. She compares his vision of individual welfare with that of later Chinese reformers. To Western readers Doolittle supplied from closer observation a more disillusioned picture of Chinese traits and values. By this time, it was evident that Christianity would appeal less to China's masses than to certain self-selected groups.

Daniel Bays, in a second contribution, explores the similarities between Christianity in its Chinese form and Chinese heterodox sects. These similarities no doubt seemed closer to a Chinese observer than they did to missionaries, but even the latter became aware that their Christian converts often came from a sectarian background. Whether or not the Chinese sectarian tracts observed by North China missionaries in the 1880s had descended from a long tradition or were recently inspired by the example of Christian tracts may be debated, but the religious affinity between the sects and Christianity seems evident. Tract literature seems to have been a bridge between them.

Protestant writings also competed with orthodox primers in the Chinese educational curriculum. Missionaries had, from the first, identified Chinese primary education as a main avenue for contact with young China. Evelyn Rawski describes the mechanisms of missionary primary education and shows clearly the limits of its appeal to its Chinese audience, which resisted Christian indoctrination and demanded a Chinese elementary education along traditional lines. A Christian imitation of the

Three-Character Classic, though it demonstrated the missionaries' strategy of approaching the Chinese through Chinese channels, proved to be no substitute for the real thing.

Finally, in the education of the foreign public about China, Arthur Henderson Smith's appraisal of Chinese society is of legendary importance. It was a culmination of the trend toward disillusion that Western "progress" and Chinese "backwardness" had combined to foster. It influenced generations of missionaries and merchants beginning in the last years of the nineteenth century and continuing well into the twentieth. Indeed, *Chinese Characteristics* (1890) had an international influence, and was translated into Japanese and from Japanese into Chinese. Charles Hayford's study argues that the primarily evangelical objectives of the early missionaries led them to fixed views of China; Smith, coming a bit later and from a newly self-conscious America, reflected the change to social uplift and modernization as mission goals. His book described China from this new point of view, and found it wanting in many respects.

In these writings produced over the 60-year span from 1819 to 1890, the marked deterioration in the missionary view of Chinese culture seems to have come from both sides: within China, conditions grew worse; outside China, the disparity with Western progress grew more obvious as change in China fell behind that elsewhere. To these objective facts were added subjective feelings—upper-class Chinese feared what mission work was doing to their old society, while missionaries despised China's backwardness. When W. H. Medhurst, Sr., completed *China: Its State and Prospects* in 1838, he had worked mainly in Southeast Asia and had barely landed at coastal ports on the Chinese mainland, but his comprehensive account still conveyed the grand outline of the Confucian government and social order in terms the early Jesuits would have agreed with.[21] Half a century later, Arthur H. Smith, after years of frustration among Chinese villagers, had a more acerbic view. Yet, this hard-nosed difference was due more to change in the West than to change in China. Though Smith lived in P'ang-chuang, his mind was more in tune with his homeland.

In the interaction between Chinese and foreign cultures that is still under way and still far from understood, it is easy to see

that Protestant missions played a part both in the expansion of the West and in the regeneration of China. Yet the process was roundabout. Our record shows that the missionaries had to begin by dealing with the Overseas Chinese in colonial Southeast Asia and by educating their constituents in the West about Chinese society and culture. Once within China, Protestantism at first fitted in as still another heterodox sect, using the literary terms and devices of sects already known there. In the end it might be argued that pioneers like Medhurst, Gützlaff, and Bridgman had more intellectual impact on the West than they had religious impact on China, that the early Sinological journal *The Chinese Repository,* for example, had as much actual long-term influence in the world as the *Delegates Version* of the Bible. However, this is only another way of saying that Protestant missions in their day were much more than simply a religious movement. They had a central role in the meeting of cultures, as the following case studies make plain.

CHAPTER TWO

Christian Tracts: The Two Friends

DANIEL H. BAYS

Christian literature in Chinese was a major preoccupation of Protestant missionaries throughout the nineteenth century. When they were officially restricted to Canton and, after 1842, to the five treaty ports, some concentrated on the distribution of scriptures and Christian literature as a means of reaching areas where they could not go to preach. By 1860, when the treaties of Tientsin and the Convention of Peking gave missionaries the right to travel and preach anywhere in the empire, the production and distribution of literature had become institutionalized. Its expansion paralleled that of the Protestant missionary community itself, which was fewer than one hundred persons in 1860, grew to several hundred in the 1870s and finally passed one thousand in the late 1880s.[1]

CHRISTIAN TRACT PRODUCTION

A survey of Christian literature compiled for the first general conference of all Protestant missionaries in China, held in Shanghai in 1877, reported that, from 1810 through 1875, there had appeared a total of 1,036 separate "Christian works" in the Chinese language, only 126 of which were Bibles or portions of the Bible. Of the remainder, 111 in the category of "sheet tracts" (that is, only a single sheet) certainly were designed as evangelistic literature, and likely so were the great majority of items in the largest category, that of "theology and narrative" (521 items).[2]

The indifferent quality of some of this literature may be indicated by the remark at the 1877 conference of Griffith John of the London Missionary Society at Hankow, himself author of dozens of tracts and founder of the Hankow Tract Society:

> One of the most difficult things in China is *not* to write a book. Every Missionary on his arrival in this land seems to hear a mystic voice bidding him take up his pen and write, and it requires no small amount of grace to resist the temptation. It would be well for us all to bear in mind that few have the ability to prepare such books as the Chinese require.[3]

Whatever its quality, the tide of Christian literature reached very large proportions indeed in the 1880s and 1890s, and continued strong well into the twentieth century. Excluding secular publications by missionaries and mission presses, and also excluding copies or portions of the Bible, the annual number of religious tracts produced and distributed in China increased from something over 100,000 around 1860 to well over 1 million before 1890, to more than 2 million in the late 1890s, and eventually reached 3.7 million in 1905.[4] Moreover, these items were not distributed in a totally undiscriminating manner, although they were sold at a very low cost, even below production cost.

In the number of pages printed, Bibles and scripture portions usually predominated, because the number of pages per item was greater (though very few entire Bibles or even entire New Testaments were sold; most were a single book of the New Testament or even small sections).[5] Scriptures and portions almost always averaged well over 100 pages per item, while

religious books and tracts averaged 20 to 30 pages in the 1870s and grew to an average of over 50 pages per item in the 1890s.[6] For the purposes of arousing initial reader interest, explaining clearly and concisely the essential doctrines of Christianity, and providing some guidance for those Christians as yet unfamiliar with the scriptures themselves, missionaries relied primarily on tracts rather than on one of the extant translations of the Bible. This was partly because the three national Bible societies (British, Scotch, and American) for most of the century forbade the issuing of any commentary or notes, even of the most elementary sort, with the scriptures whose production and distribution they sponsored.[7]

The impact of this tide of literature was great. There is considerable evidence that the widespread distribution of Christian literature in the last half of the nineteenth century aggravated the hostility the literati already felt toward Christianity. One of the purposes of the author of an infamously virulent anti-Christian tract of the 1860s, the *Pi-hsieh chi-shih* (A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy), was to take issue point by point with one of Griffith John's tracts. In addition, he responded briefly to three other Christian tracts, one of which was Joseph Edkins's 1858 Shanghai edition of *The Two Friends* entitled *Chia I erh-yu lun-shu.*[8] Significantly, this same work, after its anti-Christian fulminations, appends a short essay denouncing the Elder Brother Society, a homegrown heterodoxy, quite as roundly as Christianity, the imported one. This evidence supports the idea that elite hostility to heterodox sects, secret societies, and Christianity was rather interchangeable in its components.

Thus, it seems no coincidence that the great upsurge of anti-Christian literature of the early 1890s in the Yangtze Valley, stemming chiefly from Hunan, came directly on the heels of the great expansion of the literature work of the Central China Religious Tract Society based in Hankow in the late 1880s.[9] The head of the society, who contributed many of its tracts, was none other than Griffith John, and much of its product was consciously directed at Hunan province, where foreign missionaries had not yet secured a permanent foothold. Finally, we need only note that, by the 1880s, it had become standard practice

for missionaries and converts to greet the thousands of candidates at the triennial provincial examinations with Christian tracts as they emerged from their examination cells. Again, the central China group led by Griffith John was among the most zealous in this endeavor, distributing thousands of tracts at each of the examinations in Wuchang in 1879, 1882, 1885, and 1888.[10] One can imagine that a degree-holder's instinctive anti-heterodox and anti-Christian animus could well be exacerbated by having a tract thrust into his hand as he reeled from his writing cell, mentally and emotionally exhausted.[11]

The negative reaction of officials and gentry should not distract our attention from the positive linkages Christianity found in other sectors of Chinese society, for example linkages with the sectarian tradition, discussed below in Chapter 8. The Confucian elite was not the only and probably not the most important audience of Christian tracts in the later nineteenth century. To the great majority of the population that was not elite in status or values, and especially to those who already believed in traditional sects or were conversant with the terms and concepts they employed, the doctrines of many Christian tracts may have seemed not only vaguely familiar, but intriguing. Let us now turn to a closer discussion of the most famous of all nineteenth-century Christian tracts, William Milne's *The Two Friends*.

WILLIAM MILNE'S BEST SELLER

Viewed against the phenomenon of a large and growing nineteenth-century literature enterprise, it is remarkable that *The Two Friends* (*Liang-yu hsiang-lun*), originally written in 1818, should have retained its usefulness and popularity well into the twentieth century. But this, by all accounts, was precisely the case. William Milne, a Scot of humble background, came in 1813 at the age of 28 to the complex of China-oriented stations that ranged from the South China coast to Southeast Asia. He shuttled back and forth among Macao, Canton, Java, Malacca, and Penang until his death in 1822. In his less than ten years in the field, he made a signal contribution to the beginnings of the writing, printing, and distribution of Christian literature in

Chinese, and to the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca. *The Two Friends* was only one of 21 Chinese works attributed to Milne by Wylie; several of them were much longer, and one was a "monthly magazine" which ran from 1815 to 1821 and totaled more than 524 leaves (double pages) of contents. In addition, Milne produced two substantial books and a Malacca periodical in English during these years.[12]

Milne first published *The Two Friends* in Malacca in 1819, in an edition of 20 (double) leaves.[13] Between then and 1906, there were, including reprints or resettings of the original, revisions and their reprints, at least 17 editions of this tract.[14] My estimate is that, between 1819 and the early twentieth century, at least several hundred thousand copies of *The Two Friends* were put into circulation, and that very likely the true figure is well over 1 million, perhaps 2 million. Some editions were printed on good quality paper and bound well, so they could have had a long life after initial sale, thereby increasing even more their potential audience.

What features of *The Two Friends* may help explain this popularity? In the first place, those editions I have seen were in an easy modified literary style (what missionaries called "easy *wenli*"), although they varied in some usages and therefore in length. The exception is Blodget's Mandarin vernacular edition of 1875, which is even easier, with two-character compounds often replacing the one-character expressions of the original and colloquialisms predominating over semi-classical usages. Readers of even a low level of literacy could understand any of these editions. Yet the work was long enough to be substantial in content as well. All editions except the 1871 abridgment in the Foochow colloquial were well over 10,000 characters in length.[15]

More important is another distinctive characteristic of this tract. It is not, on the one hand, a description of Christianity by a writer who is obviously a foreigner. It is also not a catechism (*wen-ta*) of information in mechanical question-and-answer form. Nor, on the other hand, is it a story tract with a plot and actors, translated into Chinese from an original in English or another European language and not necessarily suited to the Chinese cultural scene.[16] Rather, *The Two Friends* consists of an extended dialogue between two Chinese friends, one a

Christian and one a curious non-Christian. This dialogue has at least some of the flavor of Chinese interpersonal relations. It includes a certain amount of polite conversation in greeting one another and responding to one another's opinions. It takes place over a period of a few weeks, generally in relaxed discussions between the two men in the garden of the Christian's home. Often, points brought out earlier in the tract are repeated and presumably clarified by use of this dialogue format, merely by having the interested non-Christian express confusion or doubt about a particular idea or concept, necessitating a further discussion of it from a somewhat different approach. This natural and thoroughly Chinese setting for the story, as well as the dialogue form, may help account for the longevity and popularity of *The Two Friends.* In addition, the tract's proven effectiveness in the eyes of many missionaries may also have led to its continued extensive use.

In the following summary of *The Two Friends,* quotations of key Chinese terms are from the 1836 edition; variations in three later editions are noted. In the first 2 parts of Milne's original 12 parts, the Christian Chang answers his friend Yuan's initial inquiries about just what sort of people Christians are. He stresses that, in many outward ways, including their maintenance of basic ethical principles in human relationships (*jen-lun;* later editions *lun-ch'ang*), they are exactly like other people. But they are different in that they worship the one unique and true God (*chen-shen* in 1836 and 1875; *shang-ti* in 1854 and 1906), not the false gods they formerly worshiped.[17] Chang makes clear that this God is not simply the traditional Chinese notion of *t'ien* (Heaven), because *t'ien* itself was created by this God; yet he notes that there are many names for God, and sometimes people really do mean God when they use the term *t'ien,* as is the case with several other terms, which he lists.[18]

Chang admits that he has suffered a good bit of criticism for his belief, even from his own kin, and has been accused of being unfilial (*pu-hsiao*). But he knows in his heart that he is not unfilial; the critics simply do not know the truth. Chang, in answering his friend's questions about Christian beliefs and behavior, also describes how Christians believe that they have sinned (*o-ch'u;* later editions *yu-tsui*), and must repent (*hui-tsui;*

later editions *hui-kai*) so as to improve their behavior (*kai-o kuei-shan;* later editions *ch'ü-o ts'ung-shan*). Chang stresses that one cannot really believe in God without this repentance, which comes from an acknowledgment of one's sins and a realization of having grieved God. To Yuan's objection that this is asking people to feel sad, and is not very attractive, Chang uses the analogy of the need to undergo a brief discomfort in cutting out a boil on the skin for the sake of a full healing. He also introduces the concept of Jesus as Savior, revealing to Yuan that God, in his mercy towards mankind, sent Jesus to be a redemption (*shu*) for our sins, that man might obtain forgiveness (*tsui-chih she;* 1854 and 1906, *she-tsui;* 1875, *she-mien*) through the merit or achievement of Jesus. But to receive this forgiveness, it is crucial to repent of one's past behavior and attitudes.

At their next meeting, Yuan inquires about the meaning of the term "to believe in Jesus" (*hsin Ye-su*). Chang responds with a careful explanation of the Christian concept of the Trinity or the triune God, and how Jesus, being both God and man, is superior to all former sages. Chang does not denounce the traditional sages, but says that Jesus, being God, is more capable and knowledgeable than any sage ever could be, and in addition he was able to provide a means of salvation for all men by giving up His own life, something no sage could ever do. As to understanding and believing these doctrines, the crucial element is the realization that we cannot atone for our sins by any means other than depending on Jesus' achievement on our behalf. Then, God's Holy Spirit (*sheng-shen;* 1875 and 1906, *sheng-ling*) will move us to active belief that all this is true, and that our sins have indeed been forgiven. Yuan pragmatically asks what benefits are derived from belief. Chang lists them as knowledge of forgiveness of one's sins; gaining the moving power of the Holy Spirit in one's life, so as to improve one's moral behavior; comfort and peace in life's trials, again through the Holy Spirit; and salvation (*chiu*) of one's soul (or spirit, *ling-hun*) after death unto eternal bliss (*yung-fu* or *wu-ch'iung ti fu*) in Heaven (*t'ien-t'ang*), as opposed to the fate of unbelievers, which is eternal misery (*yung-k'u*) in hell (*ti-yü*).[19]

At their third meeting, Chang elaborates on how Christians set store by the affairs or benefits of God's kingdom (*t'ien chih*

ch'ing), not those of this world (*ti chih ch'ing*).[20] Some of those benefits are to be enjoyed in the eternal happiness of Heaven, but some are for this life; these include knowing God's love, having joy in one's heart, and being enabled to live a morally upright life. These two aspects of the Christian life, for now and for eternity, are inseparable, and the eternal follows directly upon the present. Yuan and Chang discuss how, on the contrary, people ordinarily strive for the tangible benefits of this life, such as fame, riches, power, and influence, and Chang opines that those who only strive for these are no better than animals (*ch'in-shou*), who likewise know only how to pursue visible pleasures. At this point, through the questions of Yuan concerning the nature of the soul (*ling-hun*), Milne introduces an important Christian concept, that of the immortality of the soul, without which the previous stress on the benefits of God's eternal kingdom to be enjoyed after death would not make much sense. For the remainder of their third talk, Chang and Yuan go back and forth on this subject, Yuan posing traditional common notions about the soul's eventually dispersing (*hsiao* or *san*) after death, and Chang insisting that it does not, using various arguments and analogies to convince Yuan of its eternal nature.[21]

A few days later, on a lovely moonlit night, the two men meet again in Chang's garden.[22] Chang speaks of appreciating nature and the magnificence of the heavens as a manifestation of God's virtue or glory (*ta-te* in all editions, except *jung-yao* in 1875). Yuan, in turn, shows the first signs of being touched by his exposure to Christian doctrine by feeling ashamed of his previous failure to perceive the reflection of God in nature, or indeed to think of God at all. Chang comforts him, saying that he too was in precisely this state until he obtained a Bible and therein found enlightenment. Suddenly, Chang relates in describing his conversion, he understood in stark clarity his state of sin, and saw the miseries awaiting him in hell as plainly as if he were already entering into them; he could neither sleep nor eat. Then, Chang continues, he read in his Bible that Jesus came specifically to save sinners (*tsui-jen*) like himself, and, depending on that promise of mercy, he prayed God to pity him and to forgive his sins for the sake of Jesus' merit (*kung-lao,* except *kung* only in

1854). At that point, he received peace in his heart, and has not since had any taste for the material benefits of this world. He urges Yuan to believe also. Yuan returns home, pondering Chang's testimony of his own transformation. Unable to sleep, he feels guilty at his prior neglect of God and of things pertaining to his soul. He kneels and makes his first prayer, acknowledging his confusion as well as his sense of sin, asking God to show him whether the doctrines he has been hearing from Chang are true or not.

Yuan soon returns to Chang's house on another evening and particularly urges him to explain another point of doctrine he does not understand, the matter of resurrection after death (*ssu-che fu-huo,* except *ssu-li fu-huo* in 1875).[23] Yuan relates the source of his concern, which is the trauma he suffered the previous year when, several years after his father's death, he proceeded to perform his filial duty of opening the grave, washing the bones, and transferring them to a burial urn. The shock of seeing his father's disinterred remains caused him to faint. His brothers' reminders of his continuing duty to their aged mother partially brought him to his senses, but he remained perturbed. That very night he dreamed that his father had come back to the world in the form of a mountain goat (*shan-yang,* except 1854, just *yang,* sheep). Ever since, he says, he has been thinking of the (Buddhist) doctrine of the transmigration of the soul (*lun-hui*). Chang denounces this idea of transmigration of existence, telling Yuan that he must not believe it. Then Chang proceeds to explain the Christian concept of resurrection of the body, which will take place at the end of time for all the dead from earliest ages on, regardless of where they were originally buried. Each will live again and moreover each, including Yuan's father, will have his own body restored, intact in all its parts. The very thought of his father again upsets Yuan, and he questions how this can be so, but Chang assures him that, while bringing the dead to life is indeed beyond human power, it is not beyond that of God. Yuan is intensely interested and has many more questions on this subject, which have to be put off until another time, due to the lateness of the hour.

As soon as he can, a few days later, Yuan again corners Chang and insists that he speak more about this resurrection of

the body. Now Chang describes how, although our resurrected bodies will be basically like our present ones in form and appearance, they will be of a different "nature" (*ch'ing;* 1854, *ch'ing-hsing;* 1875, *hsing-tzu;* 1906, *pen-chih*). That is, they will not have the imperfections that permit us to become sick, or tired and weak, but will be glorious (*kuei-jung;* 1854 and 1906, *ta-neng ta-li;* 1875, *jung-yao*) and complete in all ways. Yuan asks if the bodies of believers ("the good," *shan-che;* 1875 and 1906, *shan-jen*) and unbelievers ("the wicked," *o-che;* 1875 and 1906, *o-jen*) will alike be resurrected. Chang replies that they will; however, unbelievers will not have their bodies transformed into glorious perfection, but will instead receive their eternal punishment in these resurrected bodies. Thus, each person, with his imperishable soul reunited with a resurrected body, will through eternity receive his proper reward, for good or ill.

Although the two men discuss several other matters at their next meeting, on the eve of the Lantern Festival, Yuan also wants to return to this subject of the final resurrection. Chang tells Yuan how, after all are resurrected in their own bodies, each person will appear before Jesus to be judged and sentenced on the basis of that individual's behavior in life, and finally ushered into either Heaven or hell. This leads to Chang's praying with Yuan at the close of this conversation, although Yuan has not yet made his own commitment to request forgiveness and salvation from God.[24] (At a still later meeting, the subject of the final bodily resurrection again comes up, and Chang relentlessly elaborates upon the eternal nature and extreme degree of the two different states of post-resurrection existence.)[25]

This encounter on the eve of the Lantern Festival is a long one, and, in addition to their further discussion of the final resurrection of all persons, Yuan asks Chang several questions about the reasons for group and private prayer to God (by this point, Yuan has twice glimpsed Chang at prayer, once with his family and once alone). Chang explains that prayer has the purpose of showing respect and honor (literally, "filiality," *hsiao;* 1875, *hsiao-hsin;* 1906, *hsiao-ching*) to God, in gratitude for His many blessings to us. Chang stresses two aspects of this attitude toward God, one being respect (*ching*) and the other being obedience (*shun*) to His commands, both of which are essential.

Chang also emphasizes the importance of daily prayer and devotions, both alone and with his family. The latter, with Bible reading, praise through song, and prayers of thanks and for forgiveness and protection, offer opportunity for both worship and the instruction of family members; this is very pleasing to God. But a private time of reading the Bible, meditating on its meaning in relation to one's own recent conduct, and praying to God for forgiveness and grace to live a better life (again, *ch'ü-o ts'ung-shan*) is also a daily necessity, says Chang. To Yuan's objections that a working man does not have the time for all this, Chang tells him that one can pray anywhere, at any time, and it only takes a few moments. Yuan insists that there must be some tangible benefits that derive from this daily prayer, such as fortune, fame, or posterity; after all, says Yuan, it is well known that deities will repay men's good treatment of them in kind. But Chang vehemently insists that no material benefits in this world are necessarily forthcoming as a result of faithful worship and prayer, only forgiveness of sins, cleansing of the heart, and eternal salvation for the soul. People who dream only of tangible pleasures are as selfish and self-centered as a pig wallowing in the mud.

In the prayer briefly noted above, which Chang prays on behalf of them both at the end of their Lantern Festival conversation, Chang includes himself as well as Yuan in his acknowledgment of sin and request for forgiveness. This troubles Yuan, because he cannot see any faults Chang needs to confess; moreover Chang is a Christian and presumably sins no more. Yuan therefore asks Chang about this at their next meeting, enabling Milne, through Chang, to reiterate how sin is not necessarily visible to other men on the surface of our lives, but is nevertheless visible to God, who sees our hearts. Moreover, asks Chang, if even the great sages of the past do not come up to God's standards, how can he do so? Thus the point is made that, not only are men indicted as sinners before God by their inner thoughts as well as by their conduct, but that even Christians will continue to sin after they first believe, necessitating an ongoing process of repentance, confession, and forgiveness.[26]

After the zealous peroration that Chang delivers at the end of part 10 (part 9, 1854 and 1906) concerning the magnificence

of believers' eternal reward and the awfulness of nonbelievers' eternal punishment, Yuan returns home to a sleepless night of agonized introspection and realization of his sinful state. Indeed, all of part 11 (part 10, 1854–1906) is taken up with Yuan's nocturnal pacing in his garden, dwelling on his sinfulness, which he visualizes as a stain that cannot be washed away, and on his unworthiness before God. Despite all Chang's preaching to him over the previous few weeks, at this point Yuan does not see any way to escape the just and proper reward for his sins, which is eternal punishment. He bewails the fact that he was ever born, or is not a bird or animal without a conscience or an eternal soul. Then he speculates about just how long "eternity" really is; the hairs on his head or leaves on a tree, even 10 million years, while many, still are not infinite, but eternity is. Even the beautiful dawn of the next morning fails to relieve in the least his depression or his conviction that he is utterly unable to gain (*te*) Heaven or to avoid (*mien* or *t'o*) eternal punishment. Somehow he manages to get through the day, but he is resolved to go back to Chang's house in the evening and tell him all that is in his heart.

In the last section of Milne's original work, Yuan does return to see Chang that very night and, weeping, tells him of his wretched state of mind, describing how conscious he is of his past sins and of his continuing sinful tendencies. Formerly he thought of himself as no worse than others and better than most, because he had not committed any gross public violations of morality; but now he considers himself hopelessly depraved and doomed to eternal damnation. Chang comforts Yuan, telling him that he is going through a necessary stage in the process of salvation, awareness of his sins, without which repentance is impossible. He is not really any more sinful now than before; he is simply aware of it for the first time. Better to acknowledge one's sins now, rather than wait until one is already in hell to do so; then it will be too late.

Finally, Chang reveals to Yuan how he can escape the burden of his sins. In a New Testament, which he says is the only book among all those he has ever read that treats of ridding one's self of sin and saving the soul, Chang shows Yuan the famous verse John 3:16 ("For God so loved the world that he gave His only

begotten son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life"). Yuan says he does not understand this, so Chang elaborates on several portions of the verse. Chang explains that God's "only son" is the same Jesus that they have talked of before, and that he came to die on behalf of all mankind as a redemption for sins (*shu-tsui*). All those who believe in Him will avoid eternal suffering, and will instead enjoy eternal happiness. Now Yuan understands the mechanics of the process, but he is apprehensive that, in his case, God will not be willing to forgive his sins. Chang urges him to take God at His word; if Yuan believes and depends on Jesus, he will certainly attain salvation.

At this point, where the next obvious step is for Yuan to believe and thus to resolve any suspense in the mind of the reader, Milne's original tract and most of its successors end.[27] Milne's failure to provide a formal consummation to the process of Yuan's salvation, leaving the story right at the threshold of his own step of faith, is obviously what stirred some later writers to add their own endings. Blodget's 1875 revision in the vernacular is the only example of these additions I have seen. It is not short, constituting almost 6½ of the 63 pages of the whole, and it must also be said that it is not very attractive. It consists entirely of a description of the further trials of Yuan's psyche, as he postpones the step of faith and continues in his misery. He shares his thoughts with his family, who deem him mad, and with an educated neighbor, who maligns Chang for so misleading him.

In Blodget's addition, after several days of arduous self-mortification, described in considerable detail, Yuan finally consults the New Testament Chang has given him, earnestly prays for forgiveness and redemption, and receives the moving of the Holy Spirit and a sense of faith. All his misery becomes joy, and he feels full of the love of Jesus. He meets his friend Chang on the road who, curiously, instead of wholeheartedly welcoming him into the faith, seems to do so in a rather suspicious and less than wholly enthusiastic manner, although he cries with happiness for Yuan's conversion.[28] In this particular version, not only is the subject matter of the added section for the most part redundant and rather maudlin, but the style is

markedly different from the main part and much more clumsy. The good Dr. Blodget might better have resisted those literary temptations alluded to earlier in the 1877 comment of Griffith John.

FURTHER COMMENTS

What general conclusions can be drawn about the manner in which essential Christian doctrines were presented in this tract? In the first place, *The Two Friends* makes a fairly competent, that is, understandable, presentation of Christian doctrines, one that is representative of mainstream nineteenth-century Protestantism before the rise of new trends of interpretation within some sectors in the latter part of the century. The tract shows reasonably clearly the nature of the God Christians worship; man's possessing an eternal spirit or soul yet being in a congenital state of sin or alienation from God, which brings upon himself God's judgment; the process of reconciliation with God through repentance and faith in the atoning power of the death and resurrection of Jesus, who is one with God and yet was God's human son; and unity with God in spirit and eventual eternal life with Him. It even recounts the basics of the doctrine of the resurrection of the bodies of all the dead in the end, by no means a simple concept.

As to the perennial Christian doctrinal issue of salvation through "grace" or through "works," the salvation this tract presents is on the surface attained through grace alone, that is through no merit or achievement of one's own, only through that of Jesus. Yet the Chinese terms used to describe believers and nonbelievers, *shan-jen* and *o-jen,* normally refer to behavior, not to state of being. Moreover, there is stress throughout on the improved behavior (*ch'ü-o ts'ung-shan*) which is expected as a result of belief and salvation, and some implication that the final judgment of all in their resurrected bodies will be on the basis of their achievements, not only on the basis of their faith or lack of it. Thus, some connotations of gaining eternal life by one's own efforts, or accumulation of merit, persist despite the basic orientation toward God's grace alone as the mechanism of salvation. This duality of emphasis, or inner tension, between

"grace" and "works" in fact characterizes Christianity in practically all its historical manifestations. To the extent that "works" comes through in the tract, that is a point of correspondence to the Chinese stress on good behavior or accumulation of merit as a means of religious salvation.

One important aspect of any doctrine of salvation or regeneration is its position on the spectrum from individual to community. *The Two Friends* puts almost complete emphasis on the individual person's faith and reconciliation to God. Although it shows the desirability of a whole family believing and worshiping together, it reveals nothing of the believer functioning as part of the "body of Christ," that is, as part of a community of believers, manifested at the local level by a mutually supportive congregation with a sense of its own identity. Even Chang, the Christian, is never shown to be part of a group larger than his family. The tract's stress on the individual and his soul, not the group, gives detailed attention to each individual's eternal reward or punishment. In Chinese society, oriented on the whole toward group identities, not individual ones, this might be expected to dilute the appeal of the message, unless offset by the reader's knowledge derived from other sources that Christians did in fact have a congregational or community identity as well.[29] From this I conclude it was very likely that tracts alone were not sufficient to give Chinese an appreciation of the full social, or congregational, nature of Christianity as a living and operating faith. But after 1860, when Christian congregations began to be formed in many places within China, missionary and Chinese preachers could elaborate further on tract contents, and it was possible for Chinese observers to see the group (the congregation) in action—in worship and mutual support, also in protecting their interests as a group. Within this context, a tract like *The Two Friends* might be much more effective than it could ever be standing alone.

What explains the longevity of this particular tract? One factor must have been its moderation in stance and style. While it was impossible to explain Christian concepts without contradicting some traditional Chinese beliefs and practices, Milne tried not to highlight such conflicts. When the Christian Chang speaks of the ancient Chinese sages and points out that their

wisdom is insufficient for the soul's salvation, he does so respectfully, not disparagingly. He stresses that Christians maintain traditional human relationships (*jen-lun* or *lun-ch'ang*), and his conduct shows that he is family-oriented. Earlier editions never explicitly state that Christians are forbidden to worship ancestors (although it is implied), and the 1906 edition mentions it only casually.[30] Moreover, although Chang uncompromisingly denounces the Buddhist concept of transmigration, he is very sympathetic to the mental anguish suffered by Yuan in connection with the disinterment and reburial of his father.

In the tract, terms of opprobrium and those denoting heresy, which in anti-Christian writings were usually directed at Christianity (for example, *hsieh* or *ch'in-shou*), are in some editions turned back against the unbelieving sector of Chinese society, but not in a vindictive or accusatory fashion.[31] Likewise the term *cheng,* "orthodoxy," which normally referred to Confucian and imperial orthodoxy, is appropriated for Christianity, but in a simple descriptive, not an aggressive, manner. The tract's employment of homely analogies in explanation and the frequent use of common traditional morality phrases (*ch'ü-o ts'ung-shan, o yu o-pao*) undoubtedly reduced the reader's sense of strangeness toward what he was reading. Finally, the tract makes familiar use of standard religious terms, especially Buddhist terms, so that it was clear at a glance that the tract dealt with religion in categories mostly familiar to the interested reader.[32]

Other tracts were not equally concerned to avoid offending Chinese sensibilities.[33] At least some are quite blunt in their assertions that Chinese who resist Christianity are perverse. Some have a pugnacious tone which is not, on the whole, characteristic of *The Two Friends.* Indeed, *The Two Friends* may be most notable for its presentation of Christian doctrine without the abrasiveness and cultural confrontation often associated both with Christian doctrine and with the physical presence of foreign missionaries. This may have commended the piece to Chinese who were not overly concerned about foreign threats to "orthodox" values and practices. At any rate, *The Two Friends* was unique in its long life, perceived usefulness, and frequent reprinting.

CHAPTER THREE

Liang Fa's Quest for Moral Power

P. RICHARD BOHR

Among the earliest Chinese converts to Protestant Christianity was Liang Fa, known in Western writings by his contemporary name (among foreigners on the China coast), Liang A-Fa. (For the sake of bibliographical clarity, we continue this outdated usage in citing his works.) He was an associate of Robert Morrison and William Milne and became the first major Chinese Protestant apologist. Liang and his fellow converts were tradesmen and farmers with a few years of formal literary training. They evidenced the concern for moral perfection instilled by their ethical tradition but complained that Chinese morality was unable to provide them with a resolution to guilt. For the elite, moral perfection was available through the practice of Neo-Confucian sagehood. For the non-elite, it could be achieved

through ritual salvationism. But for homespun Confucians, self-cultivation failed to give the self-control necessary for the transformation of character. Moreover, popular religion was too ritualistic and too intertwined with the decadent culture that had created feelings of guilt in the first place. In Christian monotheism, such men found a higher moral standard through which to achieve perfection.[1]

Liang Fa is remembered chiefly for having introduced Christianity to the Taipings through his famous tract, *Ch'üan-shih liang-yen* (Good words to admonish the age). Yet, Liang's Taiping connection should not obscure his broader significance in the Chinese response to Christianity. In the midst of a spiritual crisis unrelieved by indigenous solutions, Liang encountered Christianity. Ideas it shared with his own religious upbringing, such as guilt, sin, conversion, and salvation, appealed to him. But Liang was attracted to Christianity primarily because of three concepts that went beyond Chinese tradition: (1) monotheism as a focus for filial respect and moral seriousness, (2) the transformative power of the Holy Spirit, and (3) a language of cultural iconoclasm. In effect, Liang turned to Christianity not to repudiate the ideals of his own Chinese moral tradition but to achieve them.

FROM SINNER TO CHRISTIAN

Liang Fa was born into a farming family in a village about 50 miles southwest of Canton. He had four years of formal Confucian studies in a lineage school, where he read the *Four Books, Five Classics,* and the *Sacred Edict.*[2] In 1804, at age 15, he was forced to leave school because of his family's poverty and decided to seek his fortune in Canton. There he learned woodblock printing and, in 1810, was apprenticed to a printing shop. Three years later, he began carving the blocks for the New Testament translation of Robert Morrison, Protestantism's first spokesman in China. Impressed by Liang's work, Morrison arranged for him to become printer at the London Missionary Society press at Malacca in 1815. There he was supervised by William Milne, who had reached Canton in 1813 as Morrison's first co-worker.

Shortly after arriving at Malacca, Liang fell into deep despair over his years of gambling and intemperance in Canton, a city that offered every vice. Liang's fragmentary memoir does not indicate what precipitated his anxiety. But it does make clear that Liang saw his anxiety in spiritual terms. This situation is ironic in that, although as a child Liang had participated in Buddhist Pure Land rites at the village Kuan-yin temple, he had later regarded religious matters with "careless indifference."[3]

Liang's rural background was circumscribed by popular religion and morality books (*shan-shu*) on the one hand and by a smattering of examination Confucianism on the other. According to Tadao Sakai, the morality books espoused Taoist and Buddhist salvationist ideals as well as such moral tenets of Ch'eng-Chu Confucianism as filial devotion, loyalty, harmony, love, sexual propriety, and sobriety.[4] For the minimally literate, these colloquial tracts were the primary source of Confucian morality. They were particularly critical of cultural decadence and urged moral reform through abstinence from drinking alcohol, smoking, lewdness, gambling, swearing, cheating, magical arts, and the other evils to which Liang had been daily exposed in Canton. During the Ch'ing period, these pamphlets urged their readers to internalize guilt, which was viewed as a spiritual problem. They warned that infractions against sexual propriety, the Confucian "five relationships" (*wu-lun*—the obligations of subject to monarch, child to parent, wife to husband, brother to brother, and friend to friend), property rights, and supernatural beings constituted moral failure or sins (*tsui*). The notion of moral success or failure was underscored by the belief, introduced into China by the Buddhists, that one found reward or punishment in the afterlife.[5]

Although we do not know what morality books Liang may have read, his later writings are replete with such phrases from these tracts as "remission of sins" (*mien-tsui*). In addition, Liang continued to believe in the universal salvation offered by the popular Chinese Buddhism of his early youth. According to his recollections, on the first and fifteenth day of each month he went to the local temple of the Overseas Chinese community in Malacca to implore Kuan-yin's compassionate intercessions for protection, blessing, and eventual entrance into Amitābha's

Western Paradise. He also began reading the *Kuan-yin ching* (Kuan-yin sutra), a chapter of the Lotus Sutra particularly beloved by Pure Land devotees.

This spiritual regimen was disappointing to Liang, however, because it failed to stem the tide of his "licentious thoughts."[6] He laid his problem before a Chinese Buddhist monk who advised him to accumulate sufficient merit to outweigh his misdeeds. This could be accomplished by doing such good works as joining the sangha (by which he could remit the sins of himself and his entire family), donating money for temple repair (for which he would be born into a rich family in his next incarnation), and the daily recitation of sutras.[7]

These external actions were sufficient to absolve guilt for most Pure Land devotees. Liang, on the other hand, complained that such ritualistic piety could not engender an interior morality. The monk then recommended that Liang gain merit by self-cultivation through quiet-sitting. For ten nights, Liang recited the texts while quiet-sitting. Suddenly one evening, he concluded that such a passive routine as sutra chanting devoid of charitable good works was too "easy" and could not secure moral purity. As Liang noted after his Christian conversion, this was because it did not emphasize true repentance or moral seriousness.[8] Instead of investigating other Chinese routes to salvation, however, Liang turned immediately to Christianity.

The missionary literature to which Liang was exposed had been prepared primarily by Morrison and Milne. It reflected the spiritual commitments arising out of their own spiritual predicaments. Born into farming families, neither Morrison nor Milne had received much formal education. What they lacked in erudition, however, they made up for in religious fervor. During their teen-age years, Morrison had been struck by an intense conviction of sinfulness,[9] and Milne had experienced guilt over the "natural depravity" displayed in his "profane swearing and other sins."[10] These adolescent crises inspired the profound conviction that Christ's atonement would secure their spiritual salvation. It was in gratitude for this that they sought to share their ideas of Christian salvation with the Chinese by writing their own version of the morality books. These included Bible

translations, catechisms, exegetical studies, and homiletic pamphlets.

The missionaries' tracts were rooted in the Evangelicals' conviction that mankind could not be rescued from damnation except through the free gift of God's grace. Man could receive this grace only by making a conscious act of conversion, which, they urged, required the rejection of evil, compliance with the Ten Commandments, belief in Christ's atonement, and receptivity to the transforming influence of the Holy Spirit. Acceptance of these doctrines promised eternal bliss in Heaven. Their rejection elicited God's wrathful condemnation to hell.[11]

Following the Evangelicals' commitment to social meliorism, Morrison and Milne insisted that reform of Chinese society was a fundamental Christian duty. Morrison denounced what he perceived to be the cheating, lying, superstition, idolatry, and materialism permeating South China.[12] In six tracts written between 1814 and 1819, Milne, too, condemned what he thought were the unscrupulous practices of merchants, the lack of beneficence beyond the family, and the deleterious effects of gambling.[13] Although some of Morrison's and Milne's criticism had parallels in the Chinese morality books, the missionaries went beyond the Chinese tradition in two important respects: in denouncing Chinese image-worship as lacking filial commitment to God, and in claiming that common siblinghood in the Heavenly Father made all people inherently equal.

Shortly after rejecting Buddhism, Liang began to study Morrison's New Testament, in spite of the fact that only a few months earlier he had been offended by Milne's preachments against Chinese image-worship. Liang often asked Milne to explain difficult Bible passages. He later reported that he was deeply moved by the Christians' omnipotent creator God. He especially admired God for having allowed His son Jesus to die a sacrificial death in order to attain enough "merit"—a Buddhist notion Liang never completely abandoned—in order to achieve mankind's salvation.[14] Liang was also inspired by the idea that the Holy Spirit could transform individual character. Yet, Christianity's greatest attraction for him was the notion of filiality and moral seriousness emerging from the concept of monotheism.

Beyond this, the missionaries' cultural iconoclasm matched Liang's own outrage at his past involvement with what he now considered an immoral culture.

The dramatization of Liang's commitment to Christianity was his baptism, William Milne officiating, in November 1816. Shortly afterward, Liang wrote that, thanks to the Holy Spirit's modifying influence, his "evil self" was withering away. Both Morrison and Milne noted a remarkable personality change in their convert.[15] Now more sociable and self-confident than ever before, Liang decided to devote the rest of his life to propagating Christianity among his fellow Chinese. In 1819, he returned to his village. There he railed against his family's image-worship and gave sermons, only to be beaten and imprisoned by yamen underlings until Morrison could secure his release. For the next few years, he preached in Malacca, Canton, and the Kwangtung hinterland, often distributing tracts at examination centers. In 1823, after a period of theological study with Morrison, Liang was ordained by the London Missionary Society as China's first Protestant pastor. His remaining years were spent assisting the foreign missionaries in shepherding a growing flock of Chinese Christians in Canton, Macao, and Singapore. Although Liang was a magnetic preacher and activist, he was most effective as a writer of Christian tracts.

GOOD WORDS TO ADMONISH THE AGE

Of the twenty-odd tracts Liang wrote,[16] none is more important than *Ch'üan-shih liang-yen*. Often referred to in English as *Good Words to Admonish the Age* (hereafter cited as *Good Words*), it is a 9-*chüan* work of some 235 leaves printed at Canton in 1832. Patterned on the Ming-Ch'ing morality books in format and style, *Good Words* was written in colloquial Chinese for the purpose of making "God's great mercy known to men and turning men's hearts to the worship of God alone."[17]

Good Words is the most complete statement of Protestant doctrine by a Chinese during the first half of the nineteenth century. Philip Kuhn has written on the social and political consequences of *Good Words* for the development of the Taiping upheaval.[18] But the tract's religious content has never been

thoroughly analyzed. The work includes 10 excerpts from 11 chapters of the Morrison-Milne translation (1823) of Genesis, Ecclesiastes, and Isaiah. It also incorporates 18 quotations from 20 chapters of 12 New Testament books. Many of these are accompanied by Liang's commentaries. In addition, there are 10 homiletic essays by Liang and an account of his Christian conversion.

Fundamentally, *Good Words* condemns China's religious and secular culture and offers a blueprint for the redemption of society and the individual through Christian monotheism. Throughout, Liang praised the "omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent" monotheistic God who, as both its creator and its anthropomorphic "Heavenly Father," "loves mankind as a parent loves his children." In order to show filial gratitude, everyone "from prince to commoner . . . must revere and worship Him."[19]

Liang regretted that his countrymen had attributed God's creative powers to images, thereby dwarfing His stature as creator and lord. In Liang's view, the Chinese worship of "lifeless images" sacrificed moral purity to pragmatic utility. In particular, he charged that Confucians prayed only for success in the examinations. The Taoists were obsessed with seeking immortality, he believed, while the Buddhists quested selfishly after entrance into the Western Paradise. Further, the populace engaged in geomancy, fortunetelling, communicating with ghosts, and working spells for protection, wealth, and sons. In Liang's view, all this bespoke a lack of serious commitment to the Chinese religious tradition and inhibited faith in God's compassionate governance.[20] In fact, it was responsible for the violence, sexual license, gambling, and opium addiction for which Canton was infamous.[21]

Liang considered China's ignorance of God especially lamentable because human beings were endowed with the capacity to comply with God's moral commandments and to choose "correctness" (*cheng*).[22] This was possible because each person possessed a God-given soul, which was the only means of linking the individual with God's moral power. Because human nature was derived from matter (*ch'i*), he thought, it was not inclined toward goodness. Rather, it was malleable and weak.

But, since the soul was composed of God's spirit (*li*) it could draw upon moral purity so that the self could be perfected. Liang acknowledged that the soul shared with Confucianism the "five constant virtues" (*wu-ch'ang*) which included benevolence (*jen*), a sense of rightness (*i*), propriety of demeanor (*li*), rationality (*chih*), and good faith (*hsin*). Liang insisted, however, that these virtues had moral power only because they flowed from Christian monotheism rather than from Confucian humanism.[23]

Liang took Confucian ethics to task for not fully explaining the reality of evil. His own feelings of guilt had prevented him from accepting the optimistic Confucian belief that, although social evils may temporarily lead people astray, their inherent goodness could be restored through self-cultivation.[24] Dominating *Good Words* is Liang's interpretation of the Protestant doctrine of the Fall. Liang wrote that, when God created mankind, he had endowed human spirit with his own pure nature. For some time, man lived in perfect harmony with God. But this joyous state of affairs was terminated when man was seduced by the devil into "rebelling" against God. For this "original sin" of unfiliality, God banished man from paradise. All people have lived in moral turpitude ever since.[25]

Although the Fall was a universal reality, the "immorality" of his own culture convinced Liang that the effects of the Fall were more severe in China than elsewhere. He believed that his fellow Chinese were no longer able to distinguish good from evil. In fact, evil often masqueraded as good. For instance, the same temple officials who offered sacrifices sold salacious books.[26] And the purveyors of the Confucian classics also peddled pornographic materials.[27] Liang was even more disappointed by the Confucian scholars' failure to live up to their professed ideals. Teachers had become mere "hypocrites," and examination candidates saw their studies simply as the route to wealth and power.[28]

Liang reserved his harshest condemnation for Taoist and Buddhist clerics, whom he accused of fattening their purses by exploiting the people's "superstitions." The Taoists exhausted the savings of the faithful by exacting fees for funeral rites and temple repair. The Buddhists, moreover, lived off the people's

hard-earned money in luxury and sensuality.[29] Even worse, the monks had no social conscience. Unlike the Christian missionaries, they did nothing to relieve the misery of Chinese life.[30]

Liang also condemned the Confucianists' failure to look after the people's welfare. Alluding to the prophetic denunciations of Isaiah and Jeremiah as well as a New Testament exhortation against the exploitation of the poor by the rich (James 5:1–5), Liang accused China's wealthy of "oppressing" the poor.[31] In one instance, he even voiced Milne's insistence that the souls of all people were equal by virtue of their having been given birth by the same Heavenly Father.[32]

Liang's central concern was not so much egalitarianism as decadence, which could be eliminated only by adherence to the Ten Commandments. In *Good Words,* Liang specifically called for the prohibition of killing, adultery, stealing, lying, coveting, and unfiliality.[33] He also enjoined against drunkenness, debauchery, lewdness, quarreling, jealousy, violence, and avarice.[34] He urged his fellow Chinese to obey not only the emperor's laws but also those of God, lest the empire degenerate into "chaos."[35]

Liang insisted that the backbone of God's morality was filial devotion, for this united the "old law" of Moses with Jesus' "new law" of love.[36] He cited two instances in which Paul admonished children to be filial to their parents and parents to be "merciful" to their children.[37] He went on to affirm that "those who believe in Jesus Christ love their parents."[38] This was because "nothing is more righteous than filial devotion, brotherly affection, and serving one's elders. . . . He who would undertake the duty of son and brother must exhaust himself utterly [in filiality]."[39]

Believing that filial devotion represented the best that both Confucian and Christian ethics had to offer, Liang found other points of contact between Confucius and Paul. With regard to loyalty, Liang underscored Paul's injunctions in Romans 13 that Christians obey the laws of the state.[40] Although Liang alluded to the Christian ideal of equality, he did not debunk the "three bonds" (*san-kang;* the one-sided obligation of subjects, children, and wives to monarch, parents, and husbands, respectively). Like the Evangelical missionaries who tutored him, Liang was

no champion of women's rights. He recalled Paul's counsel that wives submit to their husbands and slaves to their masters.[41] Nor did he criticize China's political order. However, Liang did suggest that the Confucian virtues of propriety (*li*) and righteousness (*i*) underlying the political order must be broadened to include filiality on a cosmic scale through devotion to God. Christian monotheism would give significance to the "five relationships," which Liang saw as anchored in both family and monarchy:

> If everyone in the country believed in God and followed His commandments, the poor would be peaceful and the rich good and virtuous; they would all be happy. Were the [rulers and officials] to obey God's decrees, not only would the populace be happy not spending money and precious time [on image-worship], but the rulers would also be able to govern and the officials remain loyal. Fathers would be merciful and sons filial; officials would be uncorrupt and the people happy. There would be the blessing of eternal peace. One would not see doors closed at night, [and the world] would be peaceful, bright, and good. The people must follow the sovereign's decrees and the sages' teachings of benevolence and sense of right [*i*].[42]

Monotheism was not only to facilitate the reform of Chinese society—without changing China's social or political institutions—but also to bring about the salvation of the individual soul. For Liang, spiritual salvation resulted from a process of "self-renewal." Liang was quick to point out that, unlike the Confucian "fallacy" that character change was possible through self-cultivation, it could be achieved only through belief in Christ's atonement and the transforming influence of the Holy Spirit. He recalled the experience of his own spiritual predicament. He consequently exhorted his readers to seek the Holy Spirit's help at the earliest possible moment. He gave this admonition a sense of urgency by referring to the *I-ching*'s insistence on individual accountability and the notion of retribution popularized by Taoism and Buddhism. But Liang infused these ideas with the powerful Christian motif of God's judgment. The result was a simple equation: Worship God, believe in Jesus Christ, follow the Ten Commandments and be rewarded with Heaven; fail to do this and be punished in hell.[43]

In the style of the Chinese morality books, Liang sketched a vivid portrait of the afterlife. Heaven was an ethereal realm where the souls of the righteous dwelled in ecstasy. Liang linked hell with the awesome avenger God whose "righteous wrath" destroyed those who were unfilial to him.[44] Recounting the Old Testament stories of the Flood and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Liang predicted eternal suffering in hell for those who persisted in the worship of images.[45]

Liang argued that China itself was under divine judgment and must unite with the repository of universal morality—namely, the Christian West. Throughout *Good Words,* Liang adopted the universalistic perspective of his missionary mentors, by which he evaluated China and found it wanting. Liang reasoned that, since God was the Heavenly Father of all people, from ancient times the "entire world has been united as one [family]."[46] Why, then, was China not Christian? China's classics illuminated a monotheistic God.[47] Yet the Chinese persisted in applauding Confucius's alleged skepticism about religious matters. In addition, they ridiculed Christianity for its belief in the soul and its faith in a savior whom God would not rescue from execution.[48]

Implicit in this universalistic argument was a denial of China's self-identity as center of the world. Liang insisted that China was merely part of a larger universe of moral virtue. He decried the fact that it was being awakened to theological truth not by the Chinese themselves but by the Western missionaries. The missionaries, in Liang's view, were the only practitioners of universal love, an ideal the Chinese had long ago abandoned. And they were God's righteous spokesmen in condemning China's decadence.[49] For their part, the Chinese must abandon the attitude of cultural superiority which had blinded them to Christian truth. Liang cautioned:

> It is desirable that the men of this great and glorious Middle Kingdom who see these books [*Good Words*] should not boast vainly of their own country's being the land of propriety and righteousness as well as of fine literature. [They should] humbly cast aside their prejudices regarding the country in which Christianity originated and instead consider that the God of Heaven created us as human beings. Everyone who is human ought to know the saving doctrines of the Bible.[50]

In other words, China's Christianization should revolutionize the most sacred tenet of the Confucian world view.

Liang Fa had been prepared by China's ethical tradition for his sense of personal moral failure and for his outrage at what he perceived to be China's decadence. The Chinese morality books discussed the struggle between the self and evil and between *li* and *ch'i*. The Christian ideas of sin, retribution, and salvation brought by the Western missionaries had their analogues in Chinese popular religion. In addition, the "five constant virtues" also offered common ground between Confucianism and Christianity.

Liang's iconoclasm, too, grew out of his indigenous culture. The late Ch'ing morality books denounced the decadence of the Buddhist sangha in Kwangtung, the lack of moral seriousness in Chinese religious practice, and such vices as gambling, alcoholism, and sexual license.[51] Chinese materialism was criticized for its part in diverting the Chinese from pursuing their proper sense of values and of commitment to the people's welfare.

Although indigenous morality provided the context for Liang's iconoclasm, it did not secure the redemption he sought. Pure Land ritualistic mysticism failed to connect Liang with a source of moral power. But, instead of resorting to Confucian self-cultivation, he turned to the missionary's external bond with morality through pious Christian monotheism. In fact, he was convinced that Christianity would provide a more concrete focus for the Confucian ideals of filial devotion and moral seriousness. Given Confucianism's inability to be morally good, such Christian concepts as the fall, the soul, the Holy Spirit, and divine judgment profoundly challenged Confucian assumptions of human nature. For this reason, he condemned self-cultivation as enthusiastically as he attacked image-worship.

In short, Liang's traditional commitments engendered by Confucian morality led him not to a rejection of Confucianism but to a search for an actualization of Confucian values. This he found in Christianity. For Liang, Christianity not only magnified but in fact perfected Confucian morality. This conviction led him and others beyond the traditional route to salvation into Christian monotheism, which, they claimed, offered the key to China's spiritual and moral redemption.

CHAPTER FOUR

W. H Medhurst: Rewriting the Missionary Message

JANE KATE LEONARD

The writings in Chinese of Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857) reflect the dramatic changes in tract literature of the early Protestant missionary movement. These changes included an emphasis on secular learning and the integration of religious ideas into written materials more broadly historical and cultural in nature and intended for use in a non-church setting. This approach revised the traditional evangelical perspective on tract literature, which stressed religious-devotional issues and the role of tracts in the salvation experience. The broadened content and use of tracts reflected the Protestant missionary response to unique conditions in the China mission field, especially to experiences in Overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia where the China mission first centered. These changes flowed

from a growing understanding of and, in many cases, a deep and abiding respect for China as a high civilization.

Medhurst, who was one of the shaping forces in the early missionary movement in China, responded to the Chinese setting in both his missionary style and his experimental use of tract literature. In the process of developing his own special approach to missionary work, he reached into the Chinese tradition, borrowed from it, learned from it, and emerged as much a scholar-teacher in the Chinese tradition as he was a missionary-evangelist in the British.

CONFRONTING CHINESE INDIFFERENCE

Medhurst arrived in Asia in 1817, after the decision had been made to locate the China mission in Southeast Asia and to combine evangelizing among the Chinese with work among the Malays. The founding of what was called the Ultra-Ganges mission was largely the inspiration of William Milne, who came to the conclusion soon after his arrival in Canton in 1813 that the restrictions imposed on foreigners made it impossible for missionaries to carry out the goals defined by their sponsoring agency, the London Missionary Society.[1] Learning Chinese, translating the scriptures into Chinese, and establishing a mission press, could be accomplished more speedily, he believed, in Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Here the missionaries would be protected by European colonial rule, and they could devote themselves wholeheartedly to mastering Chinese, while at the same time getting their first taste of direct evangelizing among the Overseas Chinese in the Nan-yang (lit., Southern Ocean, Southeast Asia). He harbored the notion that Overseas Chinese converts might one day return and convert their countrymen living deep in the hinterland of China.[2] Malacca, lying at the crossroads of maritime Asia, was chosen as the temporary headquarters of the China mission and remained the center of missionary efforts until the First Opium War opened up a few Chinese coastal ports to European trade in 1842, enabling missionaries to begin direct proselytizing in China. In its Southeast Asian environment, the China mission thrived and expanded; it was here that the first Anglo-American missionaries

experienced a Chinese setting and fashioned their missionary approach to meet Chinese conditions.[3]

Medhurst was a young man of 20 when he arrived in Malacca in June 1817. Of modest background and limited education, he had apprenticed as a printer at 14. After his religious conversion in Gloucester, he decided to devote his skills as a printer to missionary work. He was engaged by the London Missionary Society to aid William Milne in managing the printing press at the Malacca mission.[4] Immediately on his arrival, he began intensive language study. Due to the illness of Milne in 1818, the entire responsibility for printing work was thrust on his shoulders as well as the task of teaching in the mission's Chinese schools.[5] He was ordained into the ministry in 1819, after which he opened a new mission station at Penang.[6] In 1821, he took over the Java mission located at Batavia, where he worked for the next twenty years until he was sent to Shanghai in 1843. During the period from 1817 to 1842, Medhurst developed a missionary style that was to influence the Protestant mission in its early years in China, and an important component of his work centered on the writing and dissemination of tract literature. During twenty years at Batavia, the Dutch capital of Java, he produced some 30 tracts or translations in Chinese as well as half a dozen in Malay. Moving to Shanghai when the port was opened in 1843, Medhurst in the next dozen years was the principal translator of the so-called Delegates' Version of the Old and New Testaments. In addition, he wrote many further tracts in Chinese and published books and articles on China in English.

Religious tracts played a central role in the British evangelical approach to religious conversion, both at home and in the foreign-mission field. Simple religious tracts, disseminated among the unsaved, were thought to trigger a whole series of religious experiences which would ultimately lead to conversion. They would spark an awareness of one's sinfulness which, in turn, would lead to the serious study of the scriptures and the acceptance of the clergy's guidance in seeking salvation. This approach to proselytizing emphasized the primacy of literacy and the written word in achieving salvation, and it treated the study of tracts and scriptures itself as a religious experience. Therefore, tracts with a religious-devotional focus were considered an

important part of the conversion process, which was, after all, the final goal of evangelism.

Medhurst shared these views about the importance of tracts. Written religious materials were agents of salvation, and this point of view accounts for his insistence on translation of the scriptures and the communication of religious truths in Chinese and Malay.[7] He felt it was vitally important that missionaries attain a high standard of proficiency in Chinese so that they could teach and express Christian concepts in Chinese with clarity and precision.

In missionary work on the China coast, the covert distribution of religious tracts was at first the only means of reaching potential converts. Because there were no clergy to guide and instruct converts, tracts were their sole link with the Christian community and God's message. In connection with the baptism of a certain convert of Liang Fa in Canton in 1834, during a period of government suppression of Christians, Medhurst noted that

> his present situation is unfavorable to religious advancement as he enjoys none of the means of grace and can hardly communicate with the missionaries without great risk to himself. The only means of improvement which he possesses are the scriptures and the tracts.[8]

Yet, the religious tract as it was known to British evangelists at home was soon found inadequate for the Chinese setting. It was clear even to the novice missionary that the Christian religious message had no meaning or significance to the Chinese. A tract that was narrowly religious and devotional in content held no interest because of the vast cultural and historical differences between China and the West. Medhurst felt that these differences were responsible for the inability of missionaries to attract a Chinese following, and he often "sadly lamented his own want of success" in converting Chinese during his early years in Java.[9] He pointed out bitterly that, although the Chinese showed great eagerness to possess the tracts and translations of the Bible that the missionaries handed out, this was no proof of religiosity or interest in Christianity.[10] On the one hand, it demonstrated the Chinese respect for the written word and literacy; on the other, it reflected the typical Chinese enthusiasm for getting something foreign for nothing.[11]

China was not, in Medhurst's opinion, ready for the Christian religious message; there was a blanket of culture, history, and tradition that had to be penetrated first, and this could not be done by religious tracts. What were needed instead were materials that would show that the West was a highly developed civilization, equal to China, and that its Christian religious tradition was worthy of respect and acceptance. He hoped an historical-cultural message of this kind would pave the way for the acceptance of Christianity. In other words, the purpose of tracts was to educate the Chinese about the achievements of Western civilization before attempting to convert them. After this preparatory work had been completed, the conversion of the Chinese might proceed. At that point, purely religious tracts might evoke a religious response; however, it was clear to Medhurst that these developments lay far in the future. Although he had fantasies about converting the Chinese Emperor, which he felt would draw all Chinese to Christianity, most of his estimates about converting Chinese were more realistic and bleak. He saw his own mission as one of "breaking up the fallow ground and scattering a few seeds here and there without being permitted to see a single instance of the fruit of my labours among the Heathen."[12]

The reason for Medhurst's pessimism about the immediate prospects for Christianity in China was his growing understanding of Chinese history and civilization, and his recognition of the force of tradition in the lives of the Chinese. Along with this understanding came the realization that China's advanced culture was an obstacle to the acceptance of Christianity. The Chinese, with their Confucian and Buddhist notions as well as the Malay adherence to Islam, offered, in his opinion, a far greater challenge to the missionary than peoples with relatively simple cultures.[13] He asserted, for example, that the cannibalistic Dyaks of Borneo offered great potential for Christian conversion precisely because of the primitive level of their culture which posed no problem for the acceptance of Christian values and practices.[14] Barbarism seemed far easier to overcome than the high culture of the Chinese, which had an extraordinary hold on the Chinese mind. He believed he had met with no success in converting the Nan-yang Chinese because they had brought all their

beliefs and prejudices to Southeast Asia with them and "naturally imagine that nothing abroad can possibly equal the manners and institutions they have left behind."[15]

In addition to the enormous hold of history and tradition, Medhurst pointed out that Chinese of all classes felt a fierce cultural pride in their past which caused them to look down on Christianity as an expression of an inferior culture, on a level with that of "the filthy Koreans or naked Siamese who sometimes visit their shores." They have, he asserted, a "proud self-sufficiency [which] imagines their native institutions fully adequate to all the requirements of the present and future world."[16] Thus, Chinese civilization appeared to him as a negative force hindering the Christianization of the Chinese.[17]

Another reason for Medhurst's pessimism was his realization that China had no institutionalized forms of group worship, such as congregational worship in a church, as in the West.[18] He understood that Chinese devotional practices were largely individual in nature and that ancestor worship was centered exclusively in the home among one's lineage group. This made it extremely difficult to expound Christian religious ideas and explain issues raised in religious tracts because there was no institutional setting in which a missionary could reach his Chinese audience. In order to make contact, the preacher had to create a new context for evangelism and find new ways of presenting the Christian message so that it would appeal to the Chinese and be somehow consonant with their values. In other words, the missionary had to deal with the Chinese on their own terms in order to "sell" the Christian message. This realization and the commitment to learning about China that it inspired were not unlike those of the early Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

NEW TYPES OF RELIGIOUS TRACTS

His analysis of the missionary's problem led Medhurst to place great emphasis on itinerant preaching and the establishment of Chinese-style schools;[19] and this, in turn, necessitated changes in the nature and use of tract literature. Tracts with a purely religious focus were either greatly simplified to present Christian

ideas in a very rudimentary form, or they were reshaped into purposeful attacks on Chinese religious ideas and customs. More significant, however, than the revision of religious tracts was a growing emphasis on secular writings. These materials no longer directly addressed religious issues, but attempted to introduce Western civilization, including the Christian religious tradition, in a format modeled after the written traditions of the Chinese. Medhurst's aim was to appeal to the Chinese by portraying missionaries as scholar-teachers similar to those in the Chinese tradition.

In writing the simplified religious tracts, Medhurst usually developed one idea or issue per tract. Their purpose was not to inspire or spark the conversion experience, but to educate the reader about basic Christian concepts. To use them effectively, Medhurst felt that the missionary should explain the main idea presented in each tract before distributing it to potential converts. His method was to draw a few Chinese into a discussion and explain a simple aspect of Christian doctrine, after which he would give his listeners a tract dealing with the subject of their conversation so that it could be studied later. This allowed him to introduce a Christian idea with force and accuracy while at the same time preparing the listener for self-study of the tract.

Medhurst led the way in writing simplified religious tracts and using them in itinerant proselytizing during his first years at the Malacca mission. He and several junior members of the mission rebelled against William Milne's bookish emphasis on translation and publication. As soon as their language ability was adequate, they began to move out among the Chinese to converse and supply them with the "means of instruction."[20] Some missionaries left the Malacca mission and the constraints imposed on them by Milne. Medhurst first experimented with informal, itinerant evangelizing on a large scale in Penang where he set up a mission in 1819.[21] In Java, he continued this practice, renting a small house in the Chinese town for use as a headquarters.[22] He described his approach by saying that he would "go with a few tracts in hand, and sitting down in a public place, would read to those who happened to be near. More would soon gather round and look on, to whom the missionary would

address himself on the subject of the tract, and at the conclusion present the bye-standers [*sic*] with a few copies which were in general well received."[23]

Medhurst used these tracts during his daily itinerant rounds in the Chinese settlement near Batavia and during his longer trips to areas untouched by missionary enterprise. From 1825 to 1832, he made six major tours. The first was an 800-mile trek throughout eastern Java with a visiting delegation from the London Missionary Society. Later, in 1829, Medhurst took another extended trip to eastern Java which culminated in an excursion to the island of Bali. In 1828, he left Java for a five-month tour up the east coast of the Malayan Peninsula and furthur on to the island of Borneo. He urged the London Missionary Society to purchase a sailing vessel for use by missionaries throughout maritime Asia. Medhurst's journals of these expeditions, published in Great Britain and America in missionary periodicals, impress one with his sheer spiritual and physical vigor. He reveled in these trips as opportunities for "tract distribution and religious conversation";[24] they gave him a chance to build up rapport with the Chinese in Java and to express his own fervor directly in religious dialogue. What stands out in these tracts is the simplicity of the religious message and the care with which Medhurst undertook the translation of Christian ideas into Chinese. These writings also demonstrate the limited way he approached purely religious issues and his conception of the preparatory and educational nature of his mission.

Medhurst also gave a subtle new twist to religious tracts by using them as vehicles to expose what he considered to be the base religious customs of the Chinese. He criticized aspects of ancestor worship and ridiculed traditional religious customs, such as sweeping the graves and feeding the ghosts; he wrote special tracts to attack them, including "Tract on the New Year," "The Feast of the Tombs," and "On Feeding the Ghosts."[25] He enjoyed distributing these writings on traditional feast days when the Chinese weren't preoccupied with business or trade and had time to talk.[26] He asserted that his assaults on Chinese customs made a tremendous impact on the Chinese, often arousing anger. Medhurst described one incident where an angered Chinese challenged the audacity of Westerners for

criticizing Chinese moral and religious practices when they themselves failed to live up to basic Confucian moral standards and, on top of this, were involved in the opium trade. Medhurst noted in frustration his difficulty in trying to disassociate the missionaries from the opium traders in the minds of the Chinese.[27] Nevertheless, he seems to have relished the chance to poke fun at Chinese customs:

> In their temples or in front of their idols, while they are engaged in sacrifice or bowing down to false gods, I endeavor to expose their folly and madness, when they frequently laugh heartily and assent to the truth of what I say without ever thinking of changing their opinions or reforming their lives.[28]

These tracts show how aware Medhurst was of the cultural obstacles to the introduction of Christianity among the Chinese. They also suggest that his admiration for Chinese civilization caused him to be doubly repelled by Chinese religious practices, which he felt were out of character with such a high civilization. He noted that "one cannot but turn with disgust from this system of feeding, paying, and yet cheating spiritual beings and ask with surprise, is this the mode of worship adopted by a great, civilized, and learned people like the Chinese?"[29]

WRITINGS ON SECULAR SUBJECTS

The second and most important development in Medhurst's missionary writing was its increasing emphasis on secular subjects, such as history, geography, and matters of general interest. Although some of these writings appeared in short tract-like pieces, the majority of them were published as magazine articles, historical and geographical treatises, and school texts; many bore a great similarity to Chinese literary forms. These works no longer focused directly on religious issues but introduced information about the West in a manner familiar and appealing to the Chinese. They were not only designed to provide background about Christian tradition, but were also intended to project an image of the missionary as a learned man similar to the highly respected scholar in the Chinese tradition.

Many of Medhurst's secular writings were used in mission

schools, which were organized much like those of the Chinese. They featured the study of history and geography, and included Christian moral-religious education just as Chinese schools taught Confucian morals and ethics. What's more, the *Trimetrical Classic* (*San-tzu ching*), the traditional primer used in Chinese schools, was rewritten to convey Christian ideas.[30] Medhurst and Milne developed the early Christian version of this classic, and both were enthusiastic advocates of its use. Medhurst asserted that it was very successful in mission schools because it was "well calculated to instill into the tender mind of Chinese children correct ideas of the true God and the Saviour of men."[31] He also used this work during his itinerant visits to the Chinese settlement near Batavia because "it contains a complete summary of the Christian faith and practice, and the sentences being short, I can the more readily stop to explain as I go on; added to which the letters are so large that the people standing by even at some distance can distinctly see and read for themselves."[32] Confucius's *Analects* (*Lun-yü*) were similarly imitated to spread the Christian message.

Medhurst's historical writings in Chinese highlighted the achievements of Western civilization and were intended to show the Chinese that theirs was not the only civilization to have attained great heights. He justified his publication of the comparative chronology of the origins of Eastern and Western civilization by stating that it would help "correct the vain boasting of the Chinese and to shew [*sic*] them that we possess records four thousand years earlier than the Christian era."[33] He also believed, of course, that knowledge of the West would draw the Chinese into a study of Christianity and ultimately to conversion. Medhurst viewed these works as tools paving the way for eventual Christian education and salvation.

But, meanwhile, he saw his ministry as a preparatory stage in the Christianization of China. Showing knowledge of history to his Chinese readers should also win their respect for him as missionary-teacher. His favorite outlet for his secular writings was the *Monthly Magazine* first published by William Milne in Malacca. This was a compendium of miscellaneous information, ranging from current affairs to historical essays, geographical notes, and moral-religious stories.[34] Because it was so enthusi-

astically received, Medhurst continued publishing it after Milne's death.[35]

Even more popular among the Overseas Chinese in Java was Medhurst's *Treatise on Java* (*Chiao-liu tsung-lun*).[36] This work recounting the history and geography of Java was first published in serial form in the *Monthly Magazine.* It was so successful that Medhurst printed it as a separate work in 1824.[37] Though it contained no religious material at all, he justified its publication because it was likely to lead the Chinese to read other missionary publications. This work reveals the subtle way in which Medhurst appealed to the Chinese feelings of cultural superiority over the Javanese and Malays. He treated the history of Java not as a product of continuous internal historical development but as a series of responses to contact with more advanced foreign peoples, including the Hindus, Chinese, Muslims, and Europeans.[38] He described the geography and customs of the Javanese with particular emphasis on their moral-religious traditions.[39] To interest his Chinese readers, Medhurst discussed the involvement of the Chinese in Java, their trade, their relations with the Javanese, and their close ties with the Dutch.[40]

The most significant section of the work contrasts the simplicity of Javanese views of history with those of the Chinese. Medhurst divides Javanese history into three sequential periods of Hindu, Muslim, and Western influence,[41] prefacing his chronology with the assertion that the Javanese had a sense neither of national unity nor of historical development. "From ancient times to the present, there have been no scholars in Java. The Javanese do not know how to write history and record their country's political past."[42] The Javanese lack of historical consciousness was interpreted to indicate a low level of civilization.

Medhurst appealed to Chinese readers by using a style in many ways similar to Chinese geographical writing. His account begins, for example, with a discussion of place-names used for Java from earliest times to the present.[43] This is followed by a discussion of the sea route to Java from China.[44] The place-names are those traditionally used in Chinese geographical writing. Later he was to translate into English Wang Ta-hai's geography, the *Hai-tao i-chih,*[45] which suggests that he was

already familiar with this work and drew on it in preparing his account of Java.

The treatment of Java skillfully appealed to the interests and historical experience of the Overseas Chinese and at the same time drew parallels between Chinese and Westerners, their common experience in the Nan-yang, their mutual interest in trade, and their common involvement in Java. The levels of their respective cultures also contrasted sharply with the relative simplicity of the Javanese. Comments on the value of history and its relevance to politics showed that Westerners had values similar to the Chinese. All this, moreover, demonstrated his own mastery of written Chinese, the geographical tradition, and historical learning. Medhurst believed that this scholarly image would gain respect for the missionaries and, by association, for their Christian teachings.[46]

Medhurst's experimentation with tract literature and his increasing emphasis on secular writings were adaptive responses to the Chinese setting, inspired by the failure of his mission in religious terms and his ensuing reassessment of his missionary approach. What began, however, as attempts to discover cross-cultural links that would help him achieve religious goals ultimately led to fundamental changes in his own conception of the missionary's functions, from fostering religious conversion to a dominant commitment to education and secular learning. This adaptive process, in other words, changed Medhurst's conception of the missionary vocation and of the missionary role. This change in his self-image and his experience was to influence the evolution of Protestant missionary goals in China.

Medhurst's emphasis on the scholar-teacher role is fascinating to consider from the standpoint of his personal and religious motivations. A missionary approach that centered on secular learning and education and defined both in Chinese terms required an expanded commitment to the mastery of Chinese and the study of Chinese historical tradition; apart from their religious purpose, Medhurst found these tasks enormously stimulating and satisfying. His gifts as a linguist and a scholar blossomed, and he gradually internalized aspects of the role and many of the values of the Chinese scholar-teacher. The process

of adapting to the Chinese setting shaped his personal growth, transforming him from a modest printer's assistant to a respected scholar, linguist, and China expert who was eventually as firmly planted in the Chinese tradition as in his own.

But, regardless of the inner drives that shaped his scholarly interests in China, Medhurst's emphasis on secular learning had a profound and lasting effect on the Protestant missionary movement in China. He turned it away from narrowly defined religious concerns to a broadened commitment to education, both Western and Chinese. This reorientation affected the missionaries themselves. It created a class of missionary-scholars like Medhurst who ultimately played a vital role as cultural mediators in the treaty ports after the Opium War.[47] He was a leader both in transmitting the history and values of the West to the Chinese and in interpreting China with depth and sensitivity to the West.

CHAPTER FIVE

Karl F. A. Gützlaff: Missionary Entrepreneur

JESSIE G. LUTZ

Among pioneer evangelists in China during the first half of the nineteenth century, Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff was a missionary entrepreneur par excellence—flamboyant, talented, and indefatigable. Assuming a Chinese clan name, he sailed the China coast on an opium clipper and distributed religious tracts to all comers.[1] He composed dozens of works in Chinese on Protestant Christianity and on Western history and geography. In the West, he popularized China as a mission field through numerous works in English, Dutch, and German. His readers were many, his influence far reaching. What images of European civilization did Gützlaff project to the Chinese? How did he tailor his picture for the Chinese audience, and how did the China experience alter his understanding of Western Christendom?

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the equating of progress, Westernization, and Christianization appeared valid. For Gützlaff, the product of a middle-class and pietistic background, Western civilization was a meaningful and coherent whole. Within this holistic view, history was the working out of God's will and a means of moral instruction. Ethics intertwined with politics so that rulers who followed the path of truth became instruments of progress, while depraved or heretical leaders contributed to their nation's decline. Knowledge and science, wrote Gützlaff, were the handmaidens of true religion.[2] It was after England adopted the right way, that is, Protestantism, that it acquired the commercial and technological dynamism underlying its prosperity and power.[3]

Gützlaff's writings highlight England as leader of the Christian West, responsible for conveying to all the world the blessings of science, technology, Christianity, and the constitutional nation state. When, according to Gützlaff, England demanded the right to free intercourse among all nations, it was not merely seeking material benefits; it was acting in accord with natural law. And, for Gützlaff, the phrases, "natural law" and "God's design of nature" were interchangeable. Chinese resistance to international trade amounted to defiance of God, who had decreed the brotherhood of all men. Those who denied their people access to truth and to the manufactures of the West were infringing on an inherent human right.[4]

HIS ADVENTUROUS CAREER

Gützlaff was born of artisan parents in 1803 in the Pomeranian section of Prussia, into a home deeply influenced by the religious revivalism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[5] Sectarian differences faded before the paramountcy of individual conversion; theological disputes over predestination and justification by faith were subordinated to experiencing rebirth in Christ. In this Christocentric Protestantism, the essential doctrine was God's gracious sacrifice of His Son, which offered hope to all who were willing to become servants of the Savior.

Other influences quickly came into play, however, as Gützlaff enrolled in a municipal school offering a classical curriculum.

Here, his study of Greek and Latin brought to light his extraordinary linguistic ability, a talent he cultivated assiduously so that he eventually acquired knowledge of a dozen languages and composed in at least six. He came into contact with the heritage of the Enlightenment and began to question the tenets of his religion and to look to science as the key to the progress of mankind. He reveled in the essential optimism of the Deists. Gützlaff's education at the munipal school was brief, however, and he next enrolled as a brazier's apprentice. It was during this time that he renewed his interest in pietist religion and determined to become a missionary. The challenge of the mysterious Orient certainly offered greater possibilities than an artisan's existence in Pomerania.

Gützlaff gave early evidence of a driving ambition and a strong disposition to go it alone. The fact that his mother died when he was four and was replaced by a stepmother with whom he had little communication may have accentuated his tendency to build his own world. Gützlaff learned to depend upon himself and, despite an ability to create a sense of instant empathy, he seems to have formed relatively few abiding attachments during his lifetime. His ambitions were fueled at least partially by his egotism. Though he was later criticized by pietists as lacking the humility appropriate to a servant of God, his restlessness, adventuresomeness, and dynamism help explain his choice of career. The challenge of closed China and of the most populous mission field in the world drew him like a magnet. Just as British merchants anticipated a market of 400,000,000 customers, so Gützlaff envisioned the conversion of one-third of the human race.[6] Imperial decrees against proselytism only heightened the challenge, and Gützlaff justified defiance of Chinese law by referring to his duty to a higher authority. Except for his first two years in Asia, Gützlaff worked as an independent missionary unaffiliated with a mission society. Evangelist colleagues rarely found collaboration with Gützlaff an easy matter. As a loner, he was free to place his own personal stamp on his proselytizing.

Having accepted the missionary call but lacking financial support, he embarked with characteristic zeal on a program of self-instruction. Soon, he found a patron through a typically

ostentatious gesture—presentation of a poem to the visiting Prussian King, Frederick William III. The King offered to send the 17-year-old poet to the Jänicke Missionary School in Berlin. Though the Jänicke school was a Bohemian-Lutheran institution with strong Moravian ties, the missionary impetus came chiefly from the English Awakening. The school was subsidized by the Prussian monarch to prepare evangelists for Dutch, English, and German mission societies.

Gützlaff, with seemingly boundless energy, plunged into a regimen that included study of six foreign languages, additional courses at the University of Berlin, and a prodigious quantity of extracurricular reading. Perhaps his contact with scholars at the University of Berlin, a citadel of German romanticism, also fed his faith that the heroic individual could conquer the world. Fellow workers in China later remarked that Gützlaff exhausted his colleagues, of whom he expected equal drive and energy.[7] Only a man of such vigor could have performed the multiple functions of magazine editor, publisher, translator, writer, and itinerant evangelist while also serving as interpreter for the British administration in China. Only an inveterate optimist like Gützlaff would have entitled a book published in 1838 *China Opened.*[8] Even his fellow missionaries lacked his assurance that China was ready to receive hundreds of evangelists. In 1842, having helped negotiate the opening of five treaty ports following the Opium War, Gützlaff began to lay plans for a society that would send proselytizers to every province of China.

Gützlaff's forceful personality, combined with his self-assurance and insatiable thirst for learning, caused concern at the Jänicke school. Masters and fellow students insisted that Gützlaff must be on guard against human conceit and pagan erudition; he must understand that salvation came only through the blood of Christ; every individual had to be reborn again, and one could not enter upon a missionary career without this inner experience. To Jänicke's joy, Gützlaff did eventually go through a conversionary experience and begin to preach the necessity of rebirth. Gützlaff, however, continued to combine pietism with a sanguine faith in the power of the individual. He also retained his enthusiasm for science and knowledge, which he saw as congruent with religion, a belief not shared by his more pietistic

brethren. When he urged revival, he detailed the glories of redemption rather than the depravity of man. He evolved a methodology that depended on the individual evangelist, and he maintained only loose ties with mission societies and the institutionalized church.

While ill early in 1823, Gützlaff received an offer of sponsorship from the Netherlands Missionary Society. The coincidence of the two reinforced Gützlaff's sense of destiny; he had been singled out by God to awaken the Orient. He moved to Rotterdam to prepare for service in Southeast Asia. During this period, he studied Malay, and he journeyed to Paris to gather information about missionary work in Southeast Asia and to London where he made contact with Robert Morrison. Shortly after ordination in 1826, Gützlaff sailed for Batavia, where he lodged with Walter Medhurst. Acquaintance with both Morrison and Medhurst strengthened Gützlaff's ambition to enter the great field, China. He studied Chinese and restlessly moved from one Chinese community to another in Southeast Asia: Sumatra, Java, Bintang Island, Malacca, Singapore, Siam. Exasperated by what he considered the timidity of the Netherlands Missionary Society about entering China and impatient with any external restraints, Gützlaff broke with the society. After some four years on the fringes, Gützlaff boarded a Chinese junk and, on 18 June 1831, sailed north to make a direct foray into the realm of "one-third of the human race." He had already attained considerable fluency in spoken Chinese, assumed a Chinese name, donned Chinese garb, and determined to live as a Chinese.

During 1831–1833, Gützlaff made three journeys along the coast of China, the first on a Chinese junk bound from Bangkok to Tientsin, the second on an East India Company ship, the *Lord Amherst,* investigating the commercial possibilities of seaports in addition to Canton, and the third on a British opium smuggler. These activities, of course, flaunted Chinese restrictions on foreign intercourse and, in 1834, an official decree condemned the probing trips and the distribution of "pernicious writings."[9] Though Gützlaff continued to make excursions after this, his evangelistic circuit was generally confined to the Fukien coast and the area around Macao, Hong Kong, and Canton.

Partly to verify Gützlaff's optimistic account of the reception

of Christianity on the China coast, Walter Henry Medhurst was sponsored by the London Missionary Society to sail along the coast in 1835. Medhurst, like Gützlaff before him, was impressed with the ease of travel in the coastal regions of Shantung, Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Fukien provinces, even though foreigners and evangelizing were formally prohibited. He found the Chinese engaging and friendly and the Chinese magistrates fairly easy to deal with. This convinced him that, not only were Gützlaff's accounts reliable, but also that the time was ripe for commencing missionary operations on the China coast. His account of this journey is contained in a work he wrote while on home leave in England from 1836 to 1838 called *China: Its State and Prospects.* [10]

Gützlaff's first eight years on the China coast were a time of furious activity. He issued journals of his travels which were published in Dutch, French, German, and English. He composed a two-volume sketch of Chinese history and contributed frequent articles on China to the mission magazine, *The Chinese Repository. China Opened,* a collection of essays on the topography, history, customs, literature, religion, and economy of China, came out in 1838. With these numerous publications, he sought to arouse European interest in China as a mission field and as a market. Almost every year also saw the publication of half a dozen or so Chinese religious tracts plus translations from the Scriptures. His secular writings in Chinese included *Ku-chin wan-kuo kang-chien* (A history of the world from ancient times to the present), *Ta-Ying-kuo t'ung-chih* (A comprehensive account of England), *Mao-i t'ung-chih* (Commercial handbook), *Wan-kuo ti-li ch'üan-t'u-chi* (Complete illustrated collection on world geography), and *Chih-kuo chih yung ta-lueh* (A summary of practical principles for governing a nation). A portion of these works circulated originally in the *Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao mei-yueh t'ung-chi-chuan* (The East West monthly magazine), which Gützlaff edited in 1833–1835 and 1837–1839; for this magazine he himself furnished much of the copy; articles on Western science and technology, on European geography, government, and history, and on international commercial and diplomatic relations dominated the content. [11]

In December 1834, Gützlaff (each of whose three wives was

English) accepted a position as Chinese secretary and interpreter for the British superintendent of trade. With the outbreak of the Opium War in 1839, he was obliged to devote more of his time to the duties of his post and to accompany the British officials to Macao. He succeeded J. R. Morrison as Chinese secretary to the government of Hong Kong in 1843 and held this position until his death in 1851. Such responsibilities inevitably meant a slackening of Gützlaff's evangelistic work during his last twelve years; nevertheless, a man of Gützlaff's drive and energy could accomplish almost as much in his spare time as the normal full-time propagandist. He kept up his preaching itinerations, especially on weekends and off seasons, and he continued to publish a variety of works in English, Chinese, and German. He was a major contributor to a revised translation of the Bible, and he worked on a Chinese grammar and a Chinese-English dictionary. Shortly before his death he toured Europe, organizing support for his plans to send Chinese evangelists throughout China to distribute a million tracts a year.

Gützlaff had a twofold purpose in turning to Chinese evangelists. Confined by his job to the vicinity of Hong Kong, he sought innovative techniques for reaching as many Chinese as possible. His Chinese helpers would not be subject to the restrictions imposed on missionary travels; nor would they have to work within guidelines devised by mission societies. Free to circulate in every province and responsible only to him, a few hundred itinerant Chinese preachers, assisted by several thousand colporteurs distributing tracts, would carry the Gospel message to all China. Gützlaff's second goal was the Sinification of Christianity. By Sinification Gützlaff did not mean compromise with Chinese religious tradition; he condemned the Jesuits for that. Nor did he mean transmutation of Protestant teachings. His plan was to have Chinese present the essence of Christianity in local dialects, compose tracts that were Chinese in tone and style, and supervise the proselytizing. Chinese would win China for Christ.

To this end he organized a China Union of preachers and helpers; by 1848, Gützlaff claimed to have 1,000 colporteurs and 100 preachers working in 12 of China's 18 provinces.[12] Many of the assistants, unfortunately, had meager training and

only scant knowledge of Christianity; some were impostors who resold tracts to the book dealers instead of distributing them. The number of conversions, the understanding and commitment of the converts to Christianity, the motivation of the Chinese helpers—all were called into question. At the time of Gützlaff's death in 1851, the China Union was under investigation, and it soon withered along with most of the support organizations in Europe. Many missionaries concluded that Sinification of Christianity would be a slow process requiring prolonged Western tutelage.

HIS MISSION METHODOLOGY

Though Gützlaff's approach was derived partly from the tradition of the Netherlands Missionary Society and the techniques of Medhurst and Morrison, his own personal preferences and the Chinese environment were also influential. Preaching the Gospel held primacy with Gützlaff; he had an abiding faith in the efficacy of personal contact and in the power of the Word. While the China field was in its pioneer period, the first task was to spread the message of salvation as widely as possible; he anticipated that congregations would be formed to accommodate an increase in converts, but he gave little time or attention to church organization or administration; he did not try to present doctrinal intricacies or sectarian differences. In one of his essays, for example, he wrote that the Trinity was an ineffable mystery that he was not going to attempt to explain; the important thing, in any case, was faith in the Father and in salvation through His Son.[13] He called to China deeply committed evangelists willing to risk martyrdom in order to make known the possibility of rebirth; these pioneers were to have linguistic ability and were to acquire facility in spoken and written Chinese as rapidly as possible. The Chinese masses, if not the Chinese mandarins, would gladly listen to such individuals. The Western propagandists would be complemented by Chinese converts, who, after a brief apprenticeship, would convey the Christian message and dispense tracts throughout China.

Gützlaff almost seemed to be requesting replicas of himself. His linguistic skill and his dynamism enabled him to establish

rapport quickly and to command attention. J. Tomlin, who accompanied Gützlaff on a Chinese junk to Siam, tells something about Gützlaff's presence. During the voyage, the two evangelists held evening worship, to which curious members of the crew came upon occasion. On the evening land was sighted, the captain and several sailors attended the service, which included a psalm of thanksgiving for a safe journey. At the conclusion, Gützlaff "commanded every one to kneel down, and praise the God of heaven for His mercies; instantly, as if moved by a sudden and irresistible impulse, one and all were down upon their knees, and Gützlaff poured forth a strain of impassioned praise to the Most High. . . . It seemed, indeed, as if the mighty Spirit of the Lord was present."[14] Tomlin describes Gützlaff's attempts on another occasion to communicate with the populace shortly after arriving in Asia. "It is delightful and amusing to see him conversing with the people. His simplicity, frankness, and benevolence, win their hearts, and fix their attention. Though yet a novice in the language, he presses onward regardless of difficulties. The people laugh at his blunders, and he, good humouredly, laughs with them. And when they observe him in straits, they kindly help him out, by supplying him with words."[15] Though Gützlaff continued to improve his linguistic facility, he apparently retained his instinct for adapting his approach and speech to his audience. George Smith describes an itineration some sixteen years later in the Hong Kong area:

> We first landed at a stone quarry, where the Chinese workmen were induced to leave their labour, and, without any difficulty or delay, about twenty natives were assembled around us, and formed a little congregation of attentive listeners. Mr. Gutzlaff commenced addressing them in their own language, on the truths of the Gospel, with much energy, adapting himself in tone, gesture, and manner to the assemblage before him. They listened with apparent pleasure, frequently responding and offering observations. . . . [T]he authoritative tone and manner with which he compelled any hesitating or inattentive individual to give his presence and attention was sometimes amusing. . . . The dialect which they spoke was Hok-ka, which differs considerably from the Canton dialect generally spoken in these parts.[16]

Gützlaff engaged in some educational work, though he quickly perceived the difficulties of education as a branch of missions in

China.[17] He spelled out the deficiencies of traditional Chinese education from the vantage point of a Westerner and a Christian: the concentration on the classics, which were ethnocentric and heathen, the long hours given to rote memorization and calligraphic copying. Yet, he argued against fundamental alteration of the curriculum and methodology. Respect and prestige were closely associated with literacy, and he saw no way to acquire a decent Chinese style without knowledge of the Confucian classics and commentaries. Since funds were limited, he recommended concentration on middle or higher education with attention to the training of native helpers. Facility in English would be an asset, since it would open up a whole new realm of knowledge, but it had the disadvantage that it often led to the pupil's leaving school early for a business position. The essential task was to provide in the native language information that could combat prejudice, namely, science, the Christian religion, and the history and geography of the West.

The one branch of education about which Gützlaff expressed few reservations was basic schooling for females; here he apparently accepted the old saw, Educate a mother and you educate a nation.[18] Both his first wife and his second organized small girls' schools, and he sometimes helped examine their pupils on the theory that it was impossible to civilize and Christianize a people so long as the female half of the population remained oppressed and illiterate. Perhaps because he felt stymied by the contradictions of mission education, or because his restless ambition could not be satisfied with confinement in a schoolroom teaching a few individuals, or for both reasons, Gützlaff gave relatively little time and attention to formal instruction. His training of Chinese helpers often amounted to a kind of apprenticeship which included accompanying him on his itinerations.

Charity he viewed almost exclusively in terms of medicine. Medical work gave access to the populace and demonstrated the benevolent spirit of the Gospel. He urged that a few trained physicians be sent to China and he himself dispensed drugs and even engaged in a bit of surgery on his preaching tours.[19]

Next to preaching, Gützlaff waxed most enthusiastic about the press. The time he devoted to composition and translation

was derived from his extraordinary linguistic talent, the ease and pleasure with which he put out copy, and the limitations on other kinds of activities. Even so, Gützlaff would rival any journalist in his belief in the power of the press. In 1834, he recommended purchase of Chinese metallic type for publishing the Bible and other works rather than relying on block printing or lithography. With typical expansiveness, he wrote that "China is now opening its doors; her teeming millions are ready to receive the Word of life; and the lever that shall move this word is doubtless, under God, metallic type printing."[20] His faith appears to have been amply justified by the impact of his Western-language materials in Europe. Though colleagues in Asia might demur at his utopian pronouncements about China's disposition to accept evangelists and traders, English and German Christians were ready to believe such a message and responded with alacrity. Dozens of support organizations for Gützlaff and his China Union were founded in London, Amsterdam, Berlin, Stettin, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and other centers.[21]

The readiness of Chinese to receive Gützlaff's message seems much less certain. Gützlaff, in a moment of unusual candor, admitted that gratuitous distribution of tracts was not wholly desirable; many went astray. Few Chinese were willing to purchase writings by Westerners, and distribution facilities were inadequate. Gützlaff concluded with typical optimism: Since random free distribution was the best one could do under current conditions, one should have the faith to cast bread upon the waters; God has assured its return.[22]

Gützlaff's initial inspiration may have been the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century. He had studied the methods employed by these scholars and had been impressed by their use of science to gain entrée. His efforts after 1831 were also intertwined with those of the American pioneer missionary E.C. Bridgman, a very different and, in some ways, even more constructive sort of person (see Chapter 6 below). Gützlaff's proposal in 1833 to found the Chinese magazine *Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao* stated that it would be stored with "useful knowledge and science." A year later, he advocated the establishment of a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (SDK) and, after the Opium War, he recommended stationing a German

mathematician and astronomer at Peking.[23] Perhaps, like J. A. Schall von Bell or Ferdinand Verbiest two hundred years earlier, the scholar could open doors to the Court itself. Gützlaff defined scientific knowledge broadly to include history, geography, and economics, subjects on which he did much of his writing. He gave little attention to making Western literature and philosophy available; the Chinese, in any case, were not interested, he stated.

Gützlaff generally used a straightforward, unadorned Chinese style. Though he did not attempt to employ the allusions, metaphors, parallel constructions, and other devices considered essential to classical Chinese, he did endeavor to impart a ring of authenticity to his writings. Thus, he quoted from the classics and even included a poem or two. Upon occasion, he utilized Chinese figures of speech. One of his Chinese spokesmen, for instance, says that he "has no choice but to make use of the favorable wind to blow a fire" when he is given an opportunity to talk about England.[24] To a query as to whether England possesses art and literature, the speaker replies that English culture includes Su Tung-p'o-type talent.[25] Gützlaff also makes frequent reference to Chinese numerical clusters.[26] His discussion of the differences between Chinese and Western medicine mentions the six pulses. He often defines morality in terms of the six virtues, the five constants, or the five bonds rather than simply giving the Chinese equivalent for virtues advocated in the Gospels. He tries to convey the English concept of duty to society by mentioning the six relationships and the six obligations of conduct. When he has Chinese narrators, he is careful to have the scholars observe the conventions of Chinese courtesy. The informant protests his inadequacies and hopes that he will learn from his audience; he refers to himself as "younger brother" while his companion addresses him as "elder brother." Male friendship with its illimitable obligations becomes part of the context for dialogue. There is also a leisureliness about the essays that seems authentically Chinese, though it was likewise characteristic of early-nineteenth-century European belles-lettres; almost half of an essay might be devoted to introductory chatter and concluding niceties.

In actuality, Gützlaff appears to have been more sensitive

than many missionaries to the importance of a decent idiomatic style. He, like the Jesuits, understood and appreciated the prestige that Chinese accorded literacy; as a German, he realized that the accoutrements of scholarship helped gain a hearing. In one of his pleas for additional evangelists, he wrote that he would not wish to deter any who had the call, but those without linguistic skills would do well to choose a field other than China.[27] His discussion of his own techniques of composition mentions having a native student go through his personal draft to eliminate foreignisms and suggest phrases; he also used oral dictation taken down in literary style by a local scholar, and he consulted Jesuit translations. As a matter of policy, he employed a variety of assistants with different talents: Christian converts, but also educated non-Christians and even Buddhist practitioners.[28] In order to acquire the necessary vocabulary, Gützlaff read in popular literature as well as the Confucian classics. He, of course, never acquired the intimate knowledge of Confucian literature essential to writing in the formal manner considered the mark of a scholar.

His simplified, semi-popular style was, however, not solely the result of limited skill; partly it was deliberate and partly it derived from Gützlaff's work habits. Gützlaff's goal was to reach as broad an audience as possible, and in one letter he expressed delight at having discovered books almost in the language of the people.[29] Such works could guide him in his choice of vocabulary and diction. One of his translators had been too fond of fine phrases at first, he remarked, but he had persuaded him to employ simple and plain language. Gützlaff worked with great speed, using historical data and drawing on personal experience and memories from his German education and subsequent reading.[30] Sometimes his material seems almost a paraphrase, as when he restates Gibbon's thesis on the fall of the Roman Empire. Sometimes he attains bulk by incorporating quantities of factual detail, as when he lists all the imports and exports of British trade with China, individual quantities and values, or when he describes St. Paul's Cathedral, giving its history, dimensions, interior furnishings, and other particulars.[31] Frequently, he reuses or reformulates material he had published elsewhere. Though he worked assiduously on revising translations of the

Scriptures, Gützlaff's colleagues complained that they received first drafts in most other cases, and much had to be done before Gützlaff's essays were in shape for publication.[32] One indication that Gützlaff's style was at least acceptable is the fact that selections were incorporated into the works of Chinese scholars. Wei Yuan included excerpts from Gützlaff's *Mao-i t'ung-chih* and *Wan-kuo ti-li* in his *Hai-kuo t'u-chih* (An illustrated treatise on the maritime kingdoms) while Hsu Chi-yü drew heavily on the historical and geographical writings of Gützlaff and Elijah Bridgman for his *Ying-huan chih-lueh* (A short account of the maritime circuit).[33]

One of Gützlaff's favorite techniques was to use a fictional Chinese as his spokesman when describing Western culture. In the account of England, a certain Yeh Tu-hua has recently returned to Kwangtung after more than twenty years' residence in England and gladly shares his observations about this alternative culture with fellow villagers. A series of articles on British parliamentary government has Su Fa-ling, the teacher, discoursing with Chang Hsien-te, his pupil, on the British legal system, individual rights, and political organization.[34] Gützlaff was obviously trying to establish a bond with his Chinese readers and to lend credence to the account by employing a Chinese mouthpiece. In most instances the speakers are presented as classical scholars, able to quote the great poets and essayists. Their favorite comments about the West should, therefore, be doubly impressive. This device, moreover, enabled Gützlaff to use the comparative approach: to recognize the common features of Chinese and Western cultures and to point out contrasts. Gützlaff was convinced that, for a fundamental change in attitude, the Chinese would have to recognize the existence of other civilizations. He tailored the comparative approach to suit this purpose.

Such a tactic required sophistication and tolerance on Gützlaff's part. His Chinese spokesmen are admirably open-minded upon meeting the exotic ways and customs of England and admire the orderliness and prosperity of the English. As Chinese scholars, on the other hand, they are cognizant of the merits of their own heritage. Even Mr. Yeh, who expresses the hope that all peoples will eventually follow the way of *shang-ti*, has praise

for Confucius and quotes Mencius with approval.[35] No wholesale condemnation of pagan China would ring true. Gützlaff admittedly retained his Protestant commitment, which limited his ability to use the comparative approach without bias. He may even have been conscious of a certain dualism, for he altered the tone of his justification for the publication of *Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao* according to his audience.[36] In the English-language *Chinese Repository* he emphasized overcoming the empty conceit of the Chinese, who still profess to be first among nations of the earth with all others as barbarians; he hoped, furthermore, to prove to the Chinese that foreigners were not their enemies. In the Chinese-language *Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao,* Gützlaff stressed the brotherhood and friendship of all peoples, the need for the Chinese and foreigners to regard each other as members of one family, and the hope that knowledge of the various nations would contribute to peace under Heaven.

ENGLAND COMPARED WITH CHINA

This comparative technique may have served Gützlaff better than he realized, for it required him to view English history and institutions from within the Chinese context. A traditional narrative of kings and wars would hardly explain the strengths and virtues of Western civilization. A more analytical and broadly descriptive discussion which included economics, religion, social customs, and government was necessary. World history could not be equated with either Western or Chinese history but would have to encompass both. Morality and culture were not synonymous with Western Christendom, even if the Chinese spokesmen went so far as to acknowledge Western superiority in certain realms. The differences between Gützlaff's works on England, where the dialogue form is used, and his world history, where there is no Chinese mediator, illustrate the significance of the device. Gützlaff evidently used a Western work in writing his survey of world history and felt freer to innovate when composing essays interpreting English civilization for the Chinese.

Without a Chinese narrator, his world history *Ku-chin wan-kuo* opens with the story of creation 5,840 years ago.[37] Approximately one-third of the work is devoted to the period of the

Old and New Testaments, one third to the era from the Roman Empire through the voyages of discovery, and one third to Western national history during the modern age. Though such small states as Switzerland, Sweden, and Denmark rate separate treatment, there are no chapters on China, Japan, or India: they enter the narrative primarily as they are subsumed under Western events. In discussing the migration of the Huns, for example, Gützlaff speculates about their origins in East Asia; it is European expansion that brings Asia to the forefront. Gützlaff uses the thematic approach for the Reformation, the scientific revolution, and the voyages of discovery, but much of the work is organized along political lines: empires and peoples during the pre-modern period and nation states during recent times. Monarchs, wars, and religious conflicts dominate the story. The major concessions to the Chinese audience are the use of Chinese dynastic dating and the highlighting of Western examples for China's edification.

Not only is the proselytizing obtrusive during the discussion of the Biblical epoch, but it continues to intrude frequently and with little subtlety. The chapter on England, for instance, begins with Henry VII ascending the throne; after a brief characterization of the king and his political opposition, there is a flashback to John Wycliffe.[38] Gützlaff, by making Wycliffe's teachings almost identical with those of Luther, launches into an exposition of the essential doctrines of the Protestant Reformation. Men, he cautions, should not harden their hearts against the truth as the Romanist priests did but should surrender themselves to God. The history of the English Reformation and subsequent conflicts centers around the succession of rulers, with those following orthodoxy, that is, Protestantism, generally bringing prosperity and greatness to the English people and those rulers favoring heterodoxy, Roman Catholicism, causing troubles.[39] Mary Tudor's persecution of Protestants provides an opportunity for a disquisition on the rewards of martyrs, and Gützlaff offers an extended description of the blessed in Heaven washed clean by the Blood of the Lamb, dressed in white robes, and singing praises before the throne of God. Mention of England's expansion in India under George III allows Gützlaff to inject a paragraph on the ascension of Christ and His commission

to preach the Gospel to all mankind.[40] The doctrine of atonement with Jesus as the only gate to Heaven is repeated once again.

This approach in his world history, *Ku-chin wan-kuo,* contrasts with Gützlaff's treatment of England in other works. When Yeh is spokesman in the account of England, *Ta-Ying-kuo,* the evangelizing persists but is more subtle. Lengthy expositions of Protestant teachings are infrequent. Despite a dangerous storm on his trip from England back to China, Yeh states that he was not frightened because he entrusted himself to God who rules all the earth.[41] He also volunteers that Britain has rejected Buddhism and regards the worship of idols as heresy. Buddhism and Taoism are again condemned as fallacious during a discussion of English religion, but Confucius, Mencius, and other Confucian authors are quoted favorably; their sayings sanction English practices.[42] In response to a question on the influence of the priesthood, Yeh briefly summarizes Christian doctrine, and the work concludes with an assurance of the brotherhood of all peoples under the Heavenly Father, who created Heaven, earth, and all creatures; when all races follow His rule, the world will enjoy peace.

In the course of the essays, Gützlaff reveals that religion plays a significant role in the lives of the English.[43] Bride and groom take vows of marriage before a priest and promise to follow God's commandments; some ten days after birth, a baby is baptized in the Christian ritual of rebirth instituted by Jesus. The faithful have built many churches where they gather to hear the Holy Scripture and to sing praise to God. Despite repeated destruction by fire and invasion, the English people reconstructed St. Paul's Cathedral, each time grander than the last. A reader of Gützlaff's survey of England and of his essays on England in the Chinese magazine *Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao* would gather that Protestant Christianity is good and true, but the discussion is even-handed and friendly rather than pervaded by the battle metaphors of his world history, *Ku-chin wan-kuo,* and of some of his English-language works.

When Gützlaff employs the Chinese narrator, China becomes the base line. Explanations of the English fiscal and tax structures are in terms of similarities or differences with the Chinese.[44]

The English, like the Chinese, for example, pay heavy taxes, but government income is derived primarily from commercial tariffs rather than charges on salt and grain. The English, like the Chinese during the Sung period, use paper money, but the English do not worry about its becoming invalid as during the Sung because the notes are protected and can always be cashed in. London has its equal in size and bustle only in Peking.[45] In the discussion of foreign affairs, the English are contrasted with the primitive peoples with whom China has traditionally conducted foreign relations. Then, Great Britain is put on a par with the Ch'ing Empire; both have numerous tributary states, the major distinction being that most of China's colonies are contiguous whereas England's colonies are scattered and highly diverse.[46] The argument for China's opening its doors to Western trade runs: Historically the Chinese carried on exchange with border peoples; as a result of modern technology, the Western nations are as accessible as China's neighbors formerly were; China would benefit from intercourse with the technologically advanced West, and such exchange would accord with past practice.[47]

In the course of the presentation, a second Chinese often enters the conversation from the audience and expresses typical attitudes. Gützlaff uses this technique to try to offset prejudices and alter stereotypes. The viewpoint remains that of a Chinese looking outward, however, and comparison is still utilized to make the information understandable. For example, to a query as to whether there could really be another civilized country like "ours" with laws and officials, Yeh answers in the affirmative; he offers proof that the English are an orderly people by listing the ranks of nobility and the titles and offices of the government administrators; one can see the similarity with China, says Yeh, from the similarity of titles.[48] When the narrator discusses the evolution of Parliament and popular sovereignty, a Chinese pupil inquires why this does not lead to confusion; the doubter is reassured that the king is head of Parliament and the people delegate authority to scholar officials who maintain order.[49]

Though comparisons often lead to explanations of differences between English and Chinese customs, common features are also

noted in order to indicate the legitimacy of English ways. The degree of similarity Gützlaff finds is greater than one might expect and reminds us that his vision of nineteenth-century Europe and China is not necessarily identical with that of a scholar of today benefiting from the hindsight of a century and a half. The intermeshing of political and social structure, ethics and economics, so often considered characteristic of Chinese culturalism, is for Gützlaff even more true for Europe. He believes in the organic unity of Western civilization, even though he is, in actuality, selective; for instance, he makes England the exemplar of Europe. He also favors those Chinese classics that he finds congenial. The *Book of History, Mencius,* and *Kuan-tzu* are frequently cited to sanction Western values and practices and to explain the glories of England.

Both China and England are said to have kings who receive their mandate from Heaven and acknowledge the obligation to rule for the benefit of the people. A class society with administration in the hands of the educated and virtuous and the masses trusting in the paternalism of their betters is the norm. Ethics and politics become linked as true leaders foster orthodoxy and guide their people through their example. A description of British government, for instance, presents the king as the keystone and opens with a quotation from the "Great Declaration" of the Chou ruler in the *Book of History*: "Heaven, for the help of the inferior people made for them rulers and made for them instructors that they might be able to aid God and secure the tranquility of the four quarters of the Kingdom."[50] Mencius is a favorite source regarding the importance of economic well-being and the relationship between humane government and stability; sometimes he becomes an advocate of a form of paternalistic populism. Gützlaff's description of London begins with Mencius's assurance that, when the king is humane, all wish to be under his rule; therefore, the capital increases in size and wealth.[51] Mencius's emphasis on the interdependence of popular support and the king's virtue countenances parliament's refusing to vote taxes to an inadequate and uncharitable ruler.[52]

As in the above instance, the parallelism is sometimes more theoretical than actual. Mencius's justification for the division of society into those who labor with their hands and those who

labor with their heads becomes the springboard for a discussion of the necessity of the division of labor for the development of civilization and the consequent importance of commerce and the merchant class. The contention in *Kuan-tzu* that rulers can expect the masses to appreciate rites, obligations, and social reputation only after they have the basic necessities is used to explain the correlation between England's greatness and her fostering of industry and commerce; China could enjoy similar progress and prosperity if she would freely open her doors.[53]

Respect for scholars, commitment to education, and filial piety exemplify common values. English parents, like the Chinese, will sacrifice much in order to provide their children with an education, and in both societies education includes instruction in the rules of correct behavior along with the teaching of reading and writing; study of sacred literature and history trains people to seek righteousness and harmony among the classes. Not objectivity, but inculcation of the accepted morality should be the goal of the instructor.[54] Cognizant of the esteem accorded literati, the narrator likens English clergymen and physicians to scholars rather than to their occupational counterparts. Protestant ministers are compared to Chinese scholar-officials in that they study, take examinations, and have the duty of leading the people in the way of *jen* (humanity) and *te* (virtue). A bit of evangelism enters: Just as England, which nourishes scholars, has accepted the truth, so any society which cultivates learning, that is, China, has already prepared the way for the Gospel. When scholars uphold correct doctrine, the masses will accept their example. A people who revere filial piety could find no greater model than Jesus, who followed His Father's will even unto death.

Despite the use of China as a base line and the attention to shared values, Western Christendom emerges as a distinctly different society. It is also a superior society, according to Gützlaff, and has much to teach stagnant China. As a native of Germany, which was still struggling toward nationhood, Gützlaff admired Britain's political system and could appreciate the relationship between her nation-state structure and her political and economic strength. For him, the nation state is the norm, with England representing the most advanced model. The power and

prosperity of Great Britain rest on the triple foundations of orthodox Christianity, sound political institutions, and an expanding commercial economy. Gützlaff does assert the importance of science to progress, and he assumes that man will continue to benefit from discovering God's natural law. He had, however, received little scientific training and his "scientific" articles are rather simplistic. In his secular writings, he is more apt to give data on technology and politics than on science as strictly defined. Though it is doubtful that Gützlaff fully understood the sophistication of the Chinese political system, he recognized that administrative techniques and Confucian political theory had contributed to the longevity of the empire; and he believed that Chinese evaluation of other cultures was linked to their respect for its government.[55] It was important that England appear as an orderly, well-governed society.

The English king, according to Gützlaff, is both symbolic and functional head of the realm; he establishes the norms and he assumes overall control and responsibility for government operation.[56] The effectiveness and popularity of the government are therefore directly related to the character and personality of the king. In the section on England in *Ku-chin wan-kuo,* comments on the monarch's personal qualities set the stage for a favorable or unfavorable evaluation of each reign. Parliament, when summoned by the king, can discuss and examine the affairs of the country; it must authorize taxes, but it is dependent upon the king's leadership. The assembly contributes stability to the system in that the people feel that they have a channel of communication. The House of Lords and the House of Commons, however, are clearly the province of the leadership class and, when Gützlaff discusses the political role of the average citizen, he concentrates on the obligation to pay taxes and serve in the military.[57] As in Chinese theory, Gützlaff's view is ordinarily from the top down. Leaders who demonstrate concern for the people's welfare can expect to have a free hand in politics.

Gützlaff calls true liberty the soul and source of every improvement, and he advocates religious freedom, with the leaders allowing individuals to worship according to their conscience. He was undoubtedly trying to convey a message to China's

administrators on toleration of Christian evangelism. On the other hand, he accepts the right of the government to favor orthodoxy so long as it allows all doctrines a hearing. Much of his essay entitled "Individual Rights," a significant portion of the second chapter of *Ta-Ying-kuo,* and sections of the articles on Parliament are devoted to law and justice.[58] His two major points are the supremacy of law and the impartiality of justice. In England, judges are well paid so that they are not subject to bribes, and they must see that an impartial investigation is conducted and proof of guilt is furnished. Punishment may vary according to circumstances and intent, but not according to status. Even the ruler is subject to law. In unfavorable contrast, China has a government based on persons rather than law, and the law is designed to repress and control the people. The accused, says Gützlaff, has little or no legal protection; he is subject to physical punishment to obtain confession; bribes to insure a favorable verdict often consume his wealth. Gützlaff concludes this section of the essay with the comment that culture flourishes and the economy prospers only under a system of law and justice similar to the British. In his view, there is a causal relationship between the two.

The nation state, according to Gützlaff, is a sovereign entity and the king follows the directives of no foreign country.[59] Among the rights of a state is that of international intercourse.[60] To obstruct free diplomatic and commercial exchange is to deny that all men belong to one family. As children of the same Creator, wrote Gützlaff, we all have equal claim to amicable relations and to free, reciprocal communication. To prevent open exchange is to deter progress based on the spread of knowledge and truth throughout the world. It is to dispute the legitimacy of commercial activities and to reveal a lack of concern for the people's welfare. The power and progress of England based on the free, enterprising citizen and international commerce offer ample proof of this natural right. Gützlaff condemns Chinese mandarins who themselves understand the benefits of trade but blame the Emperor for not altering the Canton system. Using one of the strongest epithets he can conjure up, "political popery," he likens the Chinese officials to Catholic missionaries who understand the errors of the church and its evangelistic

techniques and blame the Pope for failure to correct them.[61] England, the only nation capable of opening China, would serve humanity and the glorious cause of Christianity by insisting on the free intercourse of all peoples. Gützlaff's laissez-faire capitalism obviously depends on the backing of the nation state.

Running through Gützlaff's discussion of science, politics, religion, and economics is the progress theme which was so intimately associated with the free-enterprise doctrine. Change is the inevitable law of history and, in more recent times at least, change has meant betterment. England's preeminent place in the world is the result of continuous growth; in fact, limited resources have required and still require innovation and expansion.[62] China, by contrast, has remained stagnant since the accomplishments of Han and T'ang times; she defies the laws of experience and nature by looking to a golden age in the past. Though England was quite primitive in Han times, she now has a stable government which combines popular sovereignty with leadership by the virtuous and able. She has such amazing technical devices as the steam engine which powers ships, locomotives, and textile mills, and she has a prosperous people benefiting from worldwide markets and colonies. Growth has been particularly rapid since she abandoned heterodox doctrines (Roman Catholicism) and acknowledged the right way.[63]

Despite Gützlaff's delight in knowledge and his acquaintance with Greco-Roman tradition, the Christianity he preached has many characteristics of a rather simple pietistic Protestantism. Central concepts were: the omnipotent God, Creator of all; Christ the Redeemer; and rebirth in faith. Though the laws of nature express God's design, God is not the absentee watchmaker; He is the Lord of history. Gützlaff narrates history as the working out of God's will.[64] For its depravity, London was punished by the plague, and, when reform proved temporary, the Black Death struck again. London suffered the great fire and yet another plague during the reign of the lascivious and dissolute Charles II; in fact, Gützlaff implies that Charles was struck down for his evil ways, though Charles lived on for almost two decades after the disasters. A repentant and orthodox London began to flourish after the death of Charles II, and her merchant ships were soon reaching out to all the world. God is,

of course, on the side of the virtuous and industrious. In describing the Irish, Gützlaff says that it is a pity that they do not like to work, that they sleep late, go to bed early, and like liquor, for they are therefore poor. Where the hand of God in history is difficult to discern, Gützlaff resorts to faith. He admits, for instance, that the rise of the Muslims and the great extent and length of their rule are not easily explained; we can only trust God who works in mysterious ways, he concludes.

God the Creator is the Father of all mankind. We must know that we are dependent on Him as the source of all. A king cannot grasp power willfully but must realize that his power comes from God and must pray for God's favor and seek to fulfill His wishes.[65] Despite man's dependence on God, however, Gützlaff does not emphasize the helplessness or the sinfulness of humanity. His motif is the glory of redemption and the liberation of the individual through rebirth. Over and over again, he tells the story of Christ's atonement: The all-merciful Father sent His Son to suffer death for the salvation of man. Gützlaff delights in God's joyous blessing and calls on all to experience the wonder of rebirth. Trusting in God and following His way, man achieves true freedom; his possibilities are unlimited. If Gützlaff saw conflict between the individual as master of his destiny and God as determining the course of history and the operation of the cosmos, he paid scant attention. He assumed coincidence of wills. He apparently had faith in unending progress by Christendom. One of his objections to Buddhism was its doctrine of detachment, which he interpreted as advocating apathy of feeling and cessation of thought and action. Such teachings defied the laws of nature and denied man's potential; man would thereby cease to be man as far as Gützlaff was concerned.[66]

The Bible remained for Gützlaff the source of truth and the touchstone for determining truth. The Chinese creation story of P'an Ku was nonsense; the theory of *yin* and *yang* absurd pantheism.[67] History began with God's creation of the world in six days. Even so, Gützlaff came up against intellectual problems as his knowledge of Chinese history increased, and it is interesting to see how he resolved the dilemmas. The question of the origin of the Chinese, for example, was bothersome. Acknowledging Adam as the progenitor of all mankind, Gützlaff had to

assume that Adam's offspring founded the Chinese race; but how could one explain the long migration during primitive times?[68] In a leap of faith, Gützlaff says that all things are possible with God and furthermore we have the example of the Hun migrations following the Han dynasty.

Gützlaff was critical of the Chinese society that he encountered and censured many of its attitudes and practices, but he was willing to concede the limited truth and even the merit of certain Chinese doctrines. Gützlaff's pietism had not been narrowly anti-intellectual during his youth, and in China he never refused to examine China's cultural contributions. Confucius he labeled a great man, a reformer who taught some excellent virtues; if his theories were actually applied, strife, rebellion, and warfare would cease. "His system, if impartially viewed, possesses an intrinsic value and has stood the test of ages." Confucius, however, had too high an opinion of the goodness of human nature, and he was concerned only with material and worldly affairs. Though Confucius revered the powers above and so could not be accused of atheism, one must realize that, "without the aid of divine revelation, we never know the true God. . . . In the writings of the Chinese sages, we may see a fair specimen of the degree of knowledge in natural religion, to which the human mind may arrive without the aid of revelation." Concerning Mencius, whom he quotes frequently, Gützlaff writes: "He appears to have possessed a more independent spirit, and his sayings are often more apposite than those of his master."[69] Gützlaff consistently disparages Buddhism as heretical and idolatrous. As the most popular religion among the masses, it seemed Christianity's major competitor. Even so, Gützlaff writes that Buddhism's gods are gross but not obscene and that the religion prescribes some excellent precepts.

Never for a moment does Gützlaff appear to doubt that Protestantism is Christianity in its true form, and rarely does he miss an opportunity to depreciate Roman Catholicism. In his *Kuchin wan-kuo,* he entitles the chapter on the Reformation, "History of forsaking evil ways and returning to the right." Keenly aware of the connotations in Chinese, he uses the term, *cheng-chiao* (true, orthodox teaching), for Protestantism and *i* (heterodox, different) or *hsieh* (heterodox, evil) or *tso-tao* (heretical

way) for Roman Catholicism; only occasionally does he employ the more common appellations, *T'ien-chu chiao* (teachings of the Lord) for Catholicism and *Yeh-su chiao* (teachings of Jesus) for Protestantism. He criticizes the Catholic clergy at the time of the Reformation for focusing on practices which were not part of original Christianity and which they themselves do not observe: celibacy, fasting, abstinence, and so on. His admonition to sinners who hardened their hearts against Wycliffe and the true doctrine becomes a warning to the Chinese not to turn their backs on the correct way.[70] God punishes those who stray. He sent a whirlwind to destroy the Armada of the heterodox Spanish King. James II, who did not permit his people to follow the orthodox way, was driven from the throne.[71] The failure of the Nestorian missionaries to China is yet another proof that heretics lack God's blessing.

Much as Gützlaff admired and imitated the Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, his praise is always tempered with criticism.[72] It is unfortunate, he says, that such courageous, dedicated, and intelligent evangelists as Ricci, Verbiest, and Schall worked in the cause of Popery. They refused to give the Gospel to the masses. The science they brought was so enmeshed in Romanism that both Western secular knowledge and true Christianity acquired an unhappy reputation in China. God, on the other hand, favors those who accept the correct way. London, freed from the shackles of Popery, began to flourish. Elizabeth, who fostered orthodoxy and aided the persecuted Dutch, enjoyed a glorious reign. As we reach the modern age, individual freedom, intellectual and religious liberation, and commercial laissez-faireism become interdependent for Gützlaff. England, advocate of freedom in all realms, is now the natural leader of the world.

For Gützlaff, Western Christendom was both a repository of wisdom and a source of useful knowledge. By offering the Chinese the latter, he hoped to persuade them to accept the former, to acknowledge a new basis for authority in understanding nature, man, and society. The two complemented one another, and England was the prototype expressing the harmony of the

whole. China, of course, never accepted the whole despite the hopes of the proselytizers for Western Christendom. The contradictions of Western imperialism and the incongruities within Western civilization were becoming apparent even at the time of Gützlaff's death in 1851.

CHAPTER SIX

Protestant Geography in China: E. C. *Bridgman's Portrayal of the West*

FRED W. DRAKE

The pioneer Protestant missionaries who gathered on the China coast during the early decades of the nineteenth century were astonished by the myopia they encountered in Chinese perceptions of the world. They found a China that no longer exhibited the spirit of adventure, inquiry, and concern for maritime power that had launched the great early-Ming naval expeditions of Cheng-ho decades before the Portuguese and Spanish explorations brought European ships into East Asian waters. By the nineteenth century, Chinese knowledge of the world beyond the local zone of strategic interest was hazy and inaccurate. The extensive documentation that Cheng-ho's explorations had provided on the exotic lands and bizarre peoples as far away as Africa, who inhabited the outer circles of China's "all under

Heaven" (*t'ien-hsia*), had not been brought up to date and extended. The early Protestant missionaries, schooled in the new geographical science of the West, perceived this as a striking example of the comparative backwardness of Chinese civilization. But they also recognized Chinese weakness in geographical knowledge as a unique opportunity to further Western missionary and commercial interests in the Middle Kingdom.

Consequently, by the 1830s, some missionaries began to supplement their religious publications with secular materials, offering a vision of Western civilization and the "Christian" nations that was designed to impress the practical Chinese reader. This geographical-historical literature conveyed an image of a potent world civilization whose power and influence were based on Christianity, scientific knowledge, technology, and industry. Thus, on the eve of the Opium War, Protestant missionaries provided Chinese literati with an important body of information on the nature of Western power that proved to be of great interest to officials and scholars such as Lin Tse-hsu, Wei Yuan, and Hsu Chi-yü during and after the conflict with Britain.[1]

BRIDGMAN AND THE SDK (SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE)

The geographical-historical writings in Chinese of Elijah Coleman Bridgman, the first American missionary to China, were part of this missionary effort to alter the Chinese world view. Bridgman was born in a commodious farm house on the Old Bay Road of Belchertown, Massachusetts, in 1801. There seems to have been little remarkable about his childhood. His father introduced him at an early age to hard work on hilly fields with rocky soil. He received religious instruction from his pious mother and dutifully attended the local Congregational church. In 1812, he experienced a deep religious conversion when a revival, an aftershock of the Great Awakening, came to Belchertown. After the death of his mother two years later, the boy was pushed further into Calvinistic introspection, and at 13 had already dedicated his life to his mother's religious ideals. By reading reports in the *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* and *The Boston Recorder* he had also become aware of the "con-

dition and wants of the heathen" and the good work of Congregational missions.[2] Already he was steady to a fault in his habits, dedicated to plain living and high thinking, sober, soft-spoken, but earnest and energetic.

Bridgman's early education came in bits and pieces at the village school while he continued to work on his father's farm, but he yearned for the higher education that would qualify him for work in the ministry. In 1822, he entered Amherst College for a conventional classical and theological education. He particularly admired the college's second president, Heman Humphrey, a champion of Protestant fundamentalism and evangelism. On graduation in 1826, he continued his studies at Andover Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts. Within a year, he had decided to become a missionary, writing to his worried father: "You have your fields before you and know every acre of your land. Not so with me. I shall have to labor I know not where. The world is my field."[3] In September 1829, the American Board assigned him to the China mission. Though he knew almost nothing about China, he accepted; no other place offered such vast fields for the harvest of heathen souls.

President Humphrey of Amherst College delivered Bridgman's ordination sermon in the Belchertown church, summoning him to go forth as a "good soldier of Christ . . . to see what one of the most ancient and inveterate forms of idolatry is. . . . You go to attack the prince of darkness in his most imposing fortress."[4] The local minister, Lyman Coleman, instructed him "to go to the proud, bigoted and fornicating pagan in his distant pagoda . . , [to] lift up your voice to the detracted [*sic*] millions of Chinese and let [them] learn the glad song of salvation."[5] With this fundamentalist rhetoric ringing in his ears, Bridgman sailed from New York for China with a vision of China's millions soon singing hosanna to his Lord. His mission was to save the Chinese from eternal damnation. At sea he wrote, "Small as I am, my conduct will . . . affect many . . , perhaps all China."[6]

When Bridgman moved from his New England provincialism, which centered on Sabbath Schools, temperance movements, and religious revivals, to the more cosmopolitan and sophisticated cities of Canton and Macao, he encountered a cultural

challenge that broadened his view of the world. He believed that the great modern war against ignorance involved the acquisition not only of religious but also secular knowledge. Education was a means to elevate the human spirit and escape damnation. He believed that the richest treasure God had given man was the mind, and the mind required continuous exercise. Blessed as he was with a prodigious memory and a pioneer's capacity for hard work, these attitudes allowed him to soak up knowledge about the Chinese and their civilization.

Under the tutorship of Robert Morrison and Liang Fa, Bridgman began to develop the scholarly sophistication that characterized his later years in China. His early image of the Chinese as "simple natives," heathen idolaters who were backward and ignorant, altered to a significant degree. He found the ordinary people to be amiable, in many ways charming, and certainly hard-working. Indeed, he found them a fascinating people, as he reported to his family a few months after his arrival in Canton:

> I have been at some of their houses—the finest that I have seen was that of a young merchant. He is 22 and has wives and children—I don't know how many—I saw two of his little sons—fine little fellows—they shook hands and drank tea with me in fine style. . . . The Chinese are not extravagantly modest and diffident as we use the terms. The common people will come right into the house, and your room too—without the least ceremony, shake hands, ask you how you do. "What for you come to China"—"how old you have"—"you have father-mother" and so on. They are great talkers.[7]

He discovered, too, that they were a "bookish people" who were blessed with keen minds. To him, the Chinese had become "human beings, not celestial or infernal." But he could move only so far from his Christian base; the Chinese, he wrote, had "advanced as far as any people ever have gone, or can go, without the aids of divine revelation."[8] Bridgman had become aware of the antiquity and great accomplishments of Chinese civilization without losing sight of his goal to convert China. Within a year of his arrival in Canton, Bridgman began to tutor Chinese boys, including the son of Liang Fa, who later served Lin Tse-hsu in his quest to comprehend the nature of Western power:

I have a little boy of Afa's [Liang A-te]—and, with another one of the same age—10 years—hope to train them up for the Lord and the Kingdom of Christ. I love them as if they were my own brothers—they have learnt the Lord's prayer, and repeat it, or some other appropriate form morning and evening. On the map of the world they have traced my track to *Mei-le-keen-kwok* (America) where they point out the place where my father and mother and brothers and sisters live.[9]

Bridgman observed all around him signs that Chinese society was in disrepair. But he also saw evidence of an impressive civilization that had developed without the direct aid of divine truth. Searching for answers to this apparent enigma, he concluded finally that the sons of Noah had possessed religious truth when they came to China; it had been lost later when the forces of evil had been allowed to prevail in the great Manichean controversy that had embroiled China for centuries. But paganism had won only a temporary victory with the establishment of the imperial system. He reasoned that Chinese paganism might be rejected summarily once the ancient religious truths found in China's classical literature could be persuasively linked to the truths of the modern Bible. The Chinese would then awaken and take their place as a great people among the nations of Christendom. Slumbering China awaited the Christian kiss.

Bridgman observed that the Chinese were a practical people. Show them modern Western improvements, the "aids of revealed truth," he argued, and they would be eagerly received. Once aware of the achievements of Western science and technology, the Chinese would do the rest. If only Christian and Western knowledge were grafted onto Chinese civilization, he reasoned, the Middle Kingdom and its people would progress far, perhaps beyond even the West.

Within two years of his arrival in Canton, Bridgman began to see his primary role as that of an intermediary between Western and Chinese civilization. He found China to be the most interesting field of research in the world, a subject worthy of scholarly attention in the West. During the following three decades, Bridgman tirelessly translated Chinese documents and wrote extensively on Chinese topics—particularly as editor and major contributor to *The Chinese Repository*—in order to make China

better known to the West. Though it was Robert Morrison's brain child, the journal was the offspring of Bridgman's labor, providing Westerners with a gold mine of information on Chinese civilization and current affairs for two decades (1832–1851). Not surprisingly, the journal was decidedly Christian in tone, and it was dedicated to the opening of China. But it also presented China's history and civilization with considerable objectivity and detail to a generation of readers, offering approximately 12,000 pages in small print on Chinese topics during its lifetime. The research of Bridgman and his colleagues that filled the extensive files maintained in the *Repository* office provided the foundation on which S. Wells Williams constructed his classic account of China, *The Middle Kingdom* (1848), a book that exercised a significant influence on American attitudes toward China for the rest of the century.

For Chinese readers, Bridgman indefatigably labored on Christian tracts, a translation of the Bible, and a series of secular articles on Western civilization, as well as the first general history of the United States of America in Chinese, itself destined to serve as a classic account for both nineteenth-century China and Japan. Bridgman's secular publications in Chinese grew out of an ambitious project that aimed to increase Western influence in China by non-military means on the eve of the Opium War. In 1834, Bridgman and his colleagues in Canton formed a propaganda agency to make Western knowledge available to the Chinese. With their Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (generally known as the SDK), he and his friends hoped to open China by peaceful means to trade, Western civilization, and consequently to Protestant Christianity; they wished to use "intellectual artillery" that might communicate to the Chinese "the richest fruits of modern invention and discovery" as well as a knowledge of the history and affairs of Western states.[10]

Dependent on merchant support, the Society revealed the symbiotic relationship of traders and missionaries in Canton, when pre-treaty China wanted neither. Bridgman's patron, David W. C. Olyphant, the pious New York merchant who had provided him with free passage, a stipend for his first year in China, and lodging in his Canton quarters, served as treasurer;

the famous British merchants James Matheson and William Jardine, traders in opium, both served terms as president; while the missionaries—Bridgman, Robert Morrison's son, John Robert, and Karl Gützlaff—wrote the materials in Chinese.

The Society's stated purpose was "to publish such books as may enlighten the minds of the Chinese, and to communicate to them the arts and sciences of the West."[11] Bridgman described the Society as a purely benevolent organization which tried to avoid religion and politics in its publications in order to be offensive to no one; its objectives were to acquaint the people of China with "historical facts, arts, sciences, and such like—of which they can both appreciate the value and understand the uses."[12] He portrayed the Society as standing between the "great regions of light and darkness. . . . With one hand its members may gather up the richest fruits of modern invention and discovery throughout the whole western hemisphere, and with the other they may scatter them far and wide among the inhabitants of these eastern nations."[13]

Although the Society's ambitious publishing plans proved impossible to implement fully before the Opium War, nine titles in all were produced before the conflict; two of these merit attention to illustrate the nature and quality of the secular materials offered to Chinese readers interested in the changing world outside China.

GÜTZLAFF'S *CHINESE MAGAZINE*

The contrast between the styles of Karl Gützlaff—a restless man of prodigious energy and ability, something of a legend in his own time—and Elijah Bridgman—mild-mannered, hard-working, careful, scholarly—could hardly have been greater. Yet their common goal, to save Chinese from eternal damnation, was sufficient to bring them together as the major propagandists of the SDK.

In the summer of 1833, Gützlaff founded the *Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao mei-yueh t'ung-chi-chuan* (A general monthly record examining foreign countries of the East and West), which no doubt was patterned after Milne's and Medhurst's earlier *Chinese Monthly Magazine* and was known to the Western community

as *The Chinese Magazine.* Though it predates the formation of the Society, this periodical vividly illustrates the SDK's aim to communicate alien concepts to Chinese readers. Gützlaff served as its sole editor for the first year, until a disturbance over Westerners publishing materials in Canton halted the operation. When the Society was established in 1834, Gützlaff immediately placed the periodical under its auspices. Subsequently, it was printed in Singapore, as were the other titles published by the Society. Gützlaff and Bridgman were the main contributors, with some help from John Robert Morrison.

The magazine's purpose was to display the West to China as the source of a superior culture. It was, above all, an attempt to convince China of the validity of Western experience. Gützlaff's original statement of purpose to the Western residents of Canton is revealing:

> While civilization is making rapid progress over ignorance and error in almost all other portions of the globe . . . the Chinese alone remain stationary, as they have been for ages past. Notwithstanding our long intercourse with them, they still profess to be first among the nations of the earth, and regard all others as "barbarians." . . . This monthly periodical . . . is published with a view to counteract these high and exclusive notions, by making the Chinese acquainted with our arts, sciences, and principles. It will not treat of politics, nor tend to exasperate their minds by harsh language upon any subject. There is a more excellent way to show we are not indeed "barbarian"; and the Editor prefers the method of exhibiting the facts, to convince the Chinese that they still have much to learn.[14]

The authors aimed at four goals: to promote Chinese awareness of Western accomplishments; to invite Chinese participation in international trade and affairs; to offer information from the West to fill gaps in Chinese knowledge; and, in order to lend appeal to the magazine, to provide materials of irresistible interest. It covered a large variety of topics, including history, geography, elementary astronomy, scientific developments, moral essays, literature, current events, and often even prices current for Canton.

Recognition of the Chinese respect for history resulted in an effort, using several pages of each issue for a year, to equate the antiquity of the West with the ancient Chinese experience. The result was a chronological comparison of Chinese and Western

history, on the Chinese side from P'an Ku to the Sung dynasty and on the Western from Adam to the Roman Empire and finally to the kings of England.[15] Religion was deemphasized, but Christian thought nevertheless permeated the magazine; Biblical stories were cited to explain Chinese origins, and the ancient Chinese were related to the tale of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues.[16] For the Chinese reader, this was hardly compelling history.

Nor did the periodical successfully achieve its aim to equate Western literature with Chinese classical works. Remarking that Chinese books had already been translated into Western languages, one article criticized the failure of China to notice the great productions of Western culture. The discussion that followed on the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics,* along with a host of Western authors, including Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, and Horace, must have astonished Chinese readers.[17] Clearly, the magazine's editors were not equipped effectively to argue the case in classical Chinese for the equality of historical and cultural experience.

But they were on firmer turf when they advocated Chinese intercourse with foreign nations. Citing moral arguments to defend international contacts, the authors also located bases in Chinese literature that tended to legitimize interstate trade. One example cited the pre-Confucian work *Kuan-tzu* for ancient Chinese arguments in favor of international commerce.[18] In another article, the principles of laissez faire were presented, and a short history of world commerce as known to the West illustrated the benefits that accrued to trading partners.[19] Under the Society's management, the magazine added to earlier prices current a series of articles that listed the merits of trade as well as statistics on the Western trade with China. Gützlaff and Bridgman did not forget who paid for their publications.

Numerous articles cited China's need to learn from "foreigners," that is, from Westerners. Commenting that most Chinese believed only half of what they heard from Westerners, the author of one such article questioned how "we Chinese" should regard Western information.[20] Noting the example of a Chinese scholar who, despite his metropolitan *chin-shih* degree, knew nothing of the causes of the wind and other common natural

phenomena, the author queried how such a person could possibly understand truly difficult matters. "I say that reading history is insufficient for understanding; composing poetry is insufficient to promote virtue."[21] In this open attack on traditional Chinese humanistic scholarship, as well as on China's system of selecting talent for office, the author concluded that Chinese must learn to discuss such important matters as astronomy, geography, the histories of all countries, and the nature of the weather, plants, and animals.[22]

Probably the most important articles were those that treated contemporary geography. These described the situation of the various countries of the world, with attention to customs, political systems, languages, and so forth. Initially, the magazine emphasized Asian areas, places in which Chinese were thought to be interested due to their relative proximity. Descriptions appeared of Luzon, Borneo, Sumatra, Singapore, Java, Siam, and India—all indicating the relatively new presence of Western influence in these areas. An article on Russian-dominated Asia must certainly have been calculated to instruct Chinese strategists that European influence in the East did not depend solely on maritime power.[23] After the Society began its support of the magazine, however, although Asian countries continued to receive some attention, primary emphasis was placed on descriptions of the home bases of European power—Prussia, Portugal, France, Holland, Britain, European Russia.

Additional information about Western countries appeared throughout the periodical in a miscellaneous fashion. The British Parliament as well as the United States Congress, Western newspapers and postal systems, interesting biographical sketches (including one on Napoleon and another on Washington)—these and many more bits of incongruous information appeared for the Chinese eye.[24] Considerable attention also was given to the scientific and mechanical advancement of the West: a description and drawing of an elementary steam engine, a passenger balloon, an illustrated account of underwater diving gear, a railroad.[25] But this material remained so elementary, perhaps due to the author's own ignorance, that it probably served little purpose but to attract attention to Western "devices," curious toys of no real significance.

Astronomy, the branch of Western science that had brought honor to Jesuits in the court of Peking, received special attention, but again the information was so elementary that it could have given new concepts to only the most uninformed Chinese. For example, eclipses were introduced as "events which are unalterable, and they are not caused by some dog or wild beast first swallowing [the sun or moon], then spitting them out."[26] Similarly, many pages were devoted to explanations for seasonal change, the length of days, and descriptions of the moon and stars. A simple "Chart of the Northern Heavens," included in the magazine, clearly displays the extremely rudimentary quality of the material.[27]

Current events occupied several pages of each issue, with emphasis placed on European news, such as the death of a king or news of the end of the British East India Company's monopoly on the China trade.[28] Current topics pertaining to China appeared periodically; various memorials to the Ch'ing court concerning Western importation of opium were given notice, as was the opening of Peter Parker's Ophthalmic Hospital in Canton.[29]

Bridgman and Gützlaff devised a number of techniques to render the magazine's material more appealing and interesting to the Chinese. Some of these were old favorites of Western missionaries in China. The use of classical quotations beside the title of most issues aimed to lend the periodical an aura of legitimacy. Most of these quotations appealed for change and improvement: "People who consider not the future must soon encounter grief." "The Master said, 'Only the enlightened man (*chün-tzu*) loves his rectification; the inferior man hates his rectification.'"[30] Letters, purportedly written by Chinese living in the West to their families in China, described among other things the state of women in England: female infanticide was not practiced, women did not have bound feet, and they were educated.[31]

Anecdotes were often used to build interest, especially those relating conversations between two Chinese friends. In such articles, a Chinese traveler just back from England might describe it to his friend as a country where foreigners were treated as guests from afar, in apparent contrast to the Chinese reception of

Westerners. The stay-at-home friend would also be told of the amazing devices in the West: "If one rides a train he can cover ninety *li* in one hour; it is like the flight of a bird. No horse or ox is used, for it runs by itself."[32]

Finally, the magazine related strange and uncommon stories to bait Chinese interest. One of the most amusing stories, intended to play on Chinese concern for virility, told of a 105-year-old man in Poland who had married his fourth wife, a young woman of 22. This wife had just given birth to the old man's child, who was 80 years younger than its oldest brother. The article concluded that, although the old man's hair was as snow, he was still vigorous.[33] Other topics concerning things rare or unknown to most Chinese included icebergs, volcanoes, lions, polar bears, ostriches, hippopotami, and even Hottentots.[34]

The numerical and geographical extent of the magazine's circulation among the Chinese is impossible to determine, but Bridgman noted after the first issue was circulated that many copies had fallen into the hands of Chinese who were much impressed by the information.[35] A year later, just before the suspension of its printing in Canton, he again reported that several copies had been sent to Peking, Nanking, and to other parts of the empire without encountering any kind of opposition.[36] Copies of the magazine also were circulated by two bookstores in Canton that had branch operations in other cities of China.[37] But, after the periodical was printed at Singapore, since its entrance into China depended almost entirely on Overseas Chinese intermediaries, it is unlikely that many copies penetrated the interior of China. Most no doubt were restricted to the southeastern coastal region, where they would be discovered after the Opium War by Chinese in search of information on the West.

BRIDGMAN'S *SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE USA*

A second Society publication, written by Bridgman, introduced the first full account of the United States to the Chinese. Composed by the New Englander six decades after the Declaration of Independence, this two-volume book presented a detailed

picture, in the author's words, of "the discovery, situation, and extent of the country; the character, manners, and various political, literary, religious, and benevolent institutions."[38] Its title was *Mei-li-ko ho-sheng-kuo chih-lueh* (A short account of the united provinces of America; Singapore, 1938). Bridgman reported that it had become popular among coastal Chinese; it was in such demand that a second edition appeared in 1844, published in Hong Kong. A completely revised third edition, with some 50 maps and numerous illustrations, was published in 1861 at Shanghai shortly before Bridgman's death.

Bridgman's book about the United States became the counterpart in China of Williams's American classic on China, *The Middle Kingdom*. After the Opium War, Chinese intellectuals were fascinated by it. Its heavy imprint can be seen, for example, on the famous post-war Chinese world geographies of Wei Yuan and Hsu Chi-yü, which served as manifestoes for reform and change. Both these books attempted to reexamine China's relations with the Westerners, about whom Chinese intellectuals knew so little.

In Wei Yuan's *Hai-kuo t'u-chih* (An illustrated treatise on the maritime kingdoms; 1844), much of Bridgman's book was reproduced verbatim, thus bringing his treatment of America to an audience of literati throughout China that the original never could have reached. In the second major Chinese work, Hsu Chi-yü's *Ying-huan chih-lueh* (A short account of the maritime circuit; 1848), the bulk of Bridgman's original was presented, but in the Chinese author's own wording and pattern of organization. Governor Hsu of Fukien had been impressed with the wealth of dependable detail that he found in geographical accounts by missionary authors, though he resented their presence and rejected their religion. Both he and Wei admitted that China's ignorance of the outside world was unconscionable and had been one of the causes of the recent disaster. Now they hoped to apprise China's literati of the nature of the European threat, and of the West in general, in order to prepare China for the future. Hsu found Bridgman's story of the American Revolution most stimulating. An unsuccessful defender of China's coast against British ships and guns, Hsu considered George Washington to be a great hero, equal to those of China's ancient past!

What did Chinese modernizers in search of new forms of political, economic, and military organization find in Bridgman's book on America? The author hoped to portray America not only as a vigorous, successful, and rationally organized nation, but also as one that had benefited from the developments of Western civilization in general. Due to the propagandistic nature of his book, he tended to idealize American institutions, but his frank description of the social problems that existed even in a "Christian" nation perhaps helped lend credence to his treatise. Furthermore, he attempted to present America in Chinese terms, seeking analogues and reference points to Chinese conditions and concepts—particularly to the ideas of the Mencian branch of Confucianism that emphasized the government's responsibility to the common people. His treatment of the American "gentry" as leaders who represented the interests of the common people and his description of the important role given to local government appealed to both the idealism and the realism of China's local elite. His emphasis on the role of laws and trade as bases of state power, however, conflicted with the Confucian view of the importance of morality and agriculture. Yet, Bridgman asserted that the use of legal structures helped promote morality, while manufacturing and trade aided the farmer. Indeed, Americans considered farming to be of utmost importance, and all the high officials and scholars in America ploughed fields in their spare time; even George Washington had done this.[39]

Noting in his preface that the "world is one and the states of the world are like members of one body," Bridgman explained that even very wise Chinese scholars knew very little about his native land and wanted more details.[40] Though he himself was relatively unlettered, he nevertheless had written this account. Keenly aware of Chinese views regarding filial duty, he explained his presence in China. "I was born in the united provinces of Mei-li-ko, in the province of Ma-sha-chu-hsieh, which is on the opposite side of the globe from China." He had toiled in his father's fields from the age of 5 until manhood, "working in the day, studying at night," in tune with a traditional Chinese ideal that honored farmer-scholars who studied at night by the light of fireflies. Because he loved learning, his father had allowed

him to change occupations and become a scholar (*ju*). "When I was 28, since my aged father was living happily with my brothers, I desired to go to study in [China] to avoid looking at Heaven from [the bottom of] a well [that is, to broaden my experience]."

Bridgman's first volume introduced the 26 American states in considerable detail: the geographical position, climate, major cities, population, commerce, and so on. For example: "The provincial capital of Ma-sha-chu-hsieh is in the east and is named Po-shih-tun. Since none of the cities in the 26 provinces is surrounded by a wall, Boston too has none. The buildings in the city are constructed of either brick or stone (to prevent fires), and they are four or five stories tall. In the center [of the city] is a public hall that is beautiful and worth seeing; it is 200 feet tall. All public matters are discussed here each year. Inside there is a stone statue of Hua-sheng-tun."[41]

Fascinating though such material must have been to Chinese readers interested in geographical information and exotica, it remained for the 27 chapters of the second volume to present the history, institutions, and accomplishments of the nation that Bridgman believed would serve as a model for modern states in the future.

Combining Christian and Confucian concepts in a chain-link presentation, the author described the origin of the world's states. First there was God the Creator; then came Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things; then came the human relationships of Confucianism; when there was the relationship of prince-subject, there were then states.[42] Bridgman explained how science and experimentation had allowed Western states to understand the principles of nature and thereby improve their own condition. He noted that even Westerners originally did not know the world was round, and they did not understand that it rotated. For them "all under Heaven" meant only the "Old World" of Europe, Asia, and Africa. But then there was a man of genius named Ko-pan-ni-ku [Copernicus] who reasoned that the earth was round like a ball and that there must be land between East and West. Finally, another man named Ko-lun-pu from I-ta-li understood this geographical concept and, though others called him stupid, sailed across the sea to discover the

New World, America. To make certain the earth really was round, Ma-ch'i-lan sailed from West to East; to double-check, others sailed from East to West. "Thus it became known that the explanation that the world was round was absolutely correct."[43]

Bridgman noted that the various European states had competed to settle the New World. Because the English king oppressed the common people (*shu-min*), the P'i-li-mou (Pilgrims) came to live in the north in order to worship God in their own manner.[44] Gradually, New England was settled, and there were 13 provinces. Introducing the American Revolution, Bridgman played on the Confucian concept of the people's right to rebel against oppressive rule. Because the English king had taxed the common people in America too heavily, the "gentry" leaders met in Fei-la-ti-fei in 1776 to discuss the problem; because the English king failed to listen to the people, the leader of the people, Hua-sheng-tun, saw no alternative but to form an independent state. Unlike Chinese rebellions, however, the American Revolution had produced a new system of government by the people and their representatives. When Washington established the new government, he did not set himself up as a monarch. Instead, he carried out the will of the people and the gentry. Because of his great merit, the people called him "Father of the Country" (*kuo-fu*).[45]

The American form of government was discussed at length in Bridgman's idealistic account. It was rationally constructed and based on a set of written principles that could be agreed on by the people and the gentry. The people selected representatives who discussed the affairs of the central government in two large deliberative bodies. The local and central governments were effectively balanced, each taking responsibility for specific sets of duties. Because the interests of the people were represented, taxes were low, and trade, one of the bases of American power, was encouraged.

In America, laws and regulations served to promote public harmony. Officials could not punish the people outside the law, and even the rich and influential could not ignore these laws. Bridgman admitted that many Americans had "discarded virtue and followed evil," so that laws and punishments were used to

control them. He listed the ten most common crimes in the United States, ranging from rebellion and murder through rape and illicit intercourse to drunkenness and disorderly conduct.[46] Punishments consisted of hanging, imprisonment, and fines. The author asserted that American prisons, in contrast to those in China, were clean and well ventilated. Prisoners received good food, clothing, exercise, and daily instruction. The money gained from their work was distributed for public use.

Bridgman briefly treated philanthropic agencies that took care of the poor, the English alphabet, the role of Christianity as a civilizing force, popular education, social behavior, libraries, and modern improvements in transportation, communication, and manufacturing. Thus, he revealed the United States as a country in possession of an admirable array of effective institutions, an indication of the advancement of Western civilization. Neither Americans nor their European cousins were backward barbarians.

The secret behind the achievements of Western nations like the United States was knowledge, the gift of Christian civilization that allowed man to gain control of his environment and follow a course of self-improvement. "Even though [scientific] principles (*li*) are the same in all places in the world, man's knowledge [of the principles] differs."[47] With their knowledge of the principles of nature, people in America and other Western nations had invented many things—such as the cotton gin and machines to weave cloth, thereby increasing productivity and gaining greater wealth. By using water power, for example, even a small girl was able to watch over ten machines to weave cloth. "So today's continuous increase in the production of cotton cloth is a result of the continuous growth of knowledge." By using such techniques, America had become a wealthy state. Thus, Bridgman provided Chinese readers with a simple guide for modern economic development.

Furthermore, because the people supported the government that worked for their betterment, and because they were able to produce effective guns and ships, America was also strong militarily. Foreign enemies feared to invade the American nation (*kuo-chia*). Bridgman concluded his presentation of America with a classical phrase that became a popular slogan for a

generation of Chinese self-strengtheners and modernizers in the decades after the Opium War: *kuo-fu, ping-ch'iang*—"wealthy state, strong army," a compelling goal for Chinese leaders before and since.[48]

As intermediaries between two cultures, Bridgman and his colleagues transferred basic information about China to the West in their Western publications and promoted Western acceptance of China's experience as part of human history. This posed a challenge to the Western intellect, but its effect was not corrosive. As agents of Western influence in China, however, their secular publications raised questions that challenged the foundation of China's traditional order. Chinese acceptance of alien models did not occur during their lifetime, but Bridgman, Gützlaff, and others of the small Protestant community in China had provided Chinese intellectuals with a more realistic vision of the world, even with the heavy layers of idealism that enveloped it.

Arriving in Asia on a late wave of the Great Awakening, Bridgman and his associates prayed that they would be "wise as serpents, harmless as doves, bold as lions" so that their endeavor to help remake the Chinese world would not be in vain.[49] They joined forces in firing "intellectual artillery" at China, producing reverberations long after the guns of the Opium War had been stilled. The literature they published provided a ready source of information on the Western world to Chinese scholars in search of answers to China's dilemma, leaders who in the end inspired change and the quest for a more wealthy and powerful Middle Kingdom.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Justus Doolittle at Foochow: Christian Values in the Treaty Ports

SUZANNE WILSON BARNETT

At Foochow, beginning in 1850, Justus Doolittle served as preacher, teacher, and tract producer who revised and perpetuated earlier missionary writings and sought new audiences among the Chinese; but he wrote no distinctive Chinese works. Rather, Doolittle was a team man who helped sustain the missionary enterprise at new stations in port cities opened by the Opium War treaties; at no point did he have to initiate the working program of a mission.

Doolittle's missionary service followed an unexceptional but apparently pious upbringing in small-town and rural America, a college education, and seminary training in an era of increasing interest in China missions. Doolittle's candidate file in the records of the American Board reveals that he was born in Rutland,

New York, on 23 June 1823, in a family of four boys and one girl. He dated his conversion from a revival in 1834, after which he joined the Presbyterian church in Medina, New York.[1] In childhood, he "regarded Jesus as very precious and loved to pray." He admitted to "many seasons of declension" since then, but saw these as opportunities to renew his sense of "the presence of the Holy Spirit and the smiles of My Heavenly Father."[2]

In 1835, Doolittle's family moved to Middlebury, Indiana, where his father took up farming. Justus returned to New York state before he was 17, with his parents' consent, in order to obtain a "liberal education." He entered Hamilton College and graduated in 1846. After college, Doolittle went to Auburn Theological Seminary at Auburn, New York, for the standard three-year course of study and graduated in 1849. Licensed to preach in Ithaca presbytery in 1848, he was ordained in June 1849, just before graduation from Auburn. In the ordination ceremony, he received the charge from his older brother, the Reverend Henry Doolittle of Oaks Corners, New York. On the same occasion, he married Sophia Acland Hamilton, the first of his three wives.[3]

Justus Doolittle committed himself to the Christian ministry in an attitude of intimate personal relationship with God, anxious, as he put it to the American Board, to "consecrate my life to the special work of persuading men, in Christ's stead, to be reconciled to God."[4] This attitude of service was consistent with his personal experience of hard work and American benevolence. At Hamilton, he received grants from the Central American Education Society, and in summers he found gainful employment. At Auburn, he received grants from the Western Education Society and also from "a benevolent society in Troy, New York."[5] In the summer of 1848, just before his senior year in seminary, he worked for the Yates County Tract Society as a colporteur, an appropriate preface to his efforts at tract distribution in China.[6]

Doolittle's dependence on his own labor and charitable donations in the pursuit of his education was important to his sense of mission and dedication. He was part of a transitional period in American higher education marked by the appearance of college students of lower-class origins.[7] A letter in his file from

his pastor in East Bloomfield, New York, calls attention to the fact that Doolittle worked hard and did well, despite his parents' being poor and his having come from the "far west" (or so Indiana seemed to those who saw upstate New York as the "new west").[8]

Doolittle's habits of hard work and his skill at language study stand out in his file and help explain his being suited for foreign missions. At Hamilton, Doolittle distinguished himself as an ardent student of languages, including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, and French.[9] In his letter of application to the Board, he realistically declared his ability in language study, though he assessed his strength as due more to "diligence and perseverance than to any remarkable facility."[10] One of his instructors at Auburn wrote that "we would not claim for him pre-eminence of talent,—but, with his work before him, we have good hope that he will be diligent in its prosecution."[11]

To the commissioners of the American Board Doolittle expressed a preference for China. Writing that he sought a missionary appointment in full expectation of "hardship, suffering, and peril," he went on to say that "I have been for several years deeply interested in the character and spiritual condition of the Chinese and I wish to spend my life among them in teaching them the way of Salvation by Christ."[12] Despite this declaration, Doolittle indicated no real knowledge of China and the Chinese. Once assigned by the Board, he wrote somewhat frantically to inquire of readings he could undertake in order to prepare for work and residence in China.[13]

The Board sent Justus and Sophia Doolittle to Foochow, where the mission station was new and in need of men.[14] The founder of the American Board mission at Foochow had been the Reverend Stephen Johnson, who reached the banks of the Min aboard an opium vessel on New Year's Day, 1847. Although there was a small Roman Catholic mission just outside the city, Johnson had a fairly clear slate. He had left Siam after many years of American Board missionary service there, expecting to join the Amoy station, where he could use skills acquired through dealing with Amoy Chinese in Bangkok; but he found persuasive the arguments of Bridgman and others in favor of Foochow.[15] One attraction of the area was its population of

perhaps 2 million. Even though the missionaries encountered difficulties in acquiring suitable locations for housing and tract distribution, and though the walled city remained closed to their residence for many years, Johnson and his colleagues found homes and work to do in the city's southern suburbs.[16] The Doolittles arrived in May 1850, to help the Johnsons, the Lyman Peets, the C. C. Baldwins, and the Seneca Cummings.[17]

Doolittle immediately began his training in Chinese, seeking mastery of the Foochow dialect in order to join his associates in preaching and teaching among local residents. He worked with others to expand the American Board tract program, producing written materials in colloquial prose designed for a wide readership. By the mid-1850s, Doolittle was deeply into the tract enterprise, motivated partly by predilection and also by a recurring throat ailment that made tract publishing and distribution preferable to preaching.[18] Writing, editing, publishing, and promoting missionary literature in both Chinese and English, Doolittle helped carry on the missionary effort. He was in China for two decades, from 1850 to 1872, excluding his 1864–1866 home leave and some non-missionary time in between his resignation from the American Board in 1869 and his shift to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. He remained almost exclusively in Foochow. He spent two years in Tientsin (1866–1868) and had a brief stay in Shanghai before his return home in the early 1870s.[19] After his death in June 1880, his Foochow colleague C. C. Baldwin praised him for being "diligent in making books" and "laborious" in selling books among the Chinese.[20]

TRACTS AND THE PROTESTANT MESSAGE IN CHINESE

Tracts associated with Doolittle's editorship and published at the American Board press at Foochow in the mid-1850s demonstrate the treaty-port missionary approach.[21] The Foochow area offered a full range of Chinese literacy, including a literate subelite, and the missionaries produced tracts in different styles to reach as many kinds of Chinese as possible.[22] As the provincial capital of Fukien and the prefectural city for both Min-hsien and Hou-kuan-hsien, Foochow was a literary and administrative as well as a commercial center. Provincial-level examinations

for the *chü-jen* degree brought to the capital men from throughout the province, including Taiwan. The missionaries seized opportunities to pass out tracts among examination candidates as they left the halls, in hopes of sending the message of Christianity to distant towns by way of these thousands of influential men.[23]

Another set of Christian readers seemed as important—the residents of villages around Foochow and customers of shops in the city. The treaty-port missionaries produced tracts to reach this element of society directly. A collection of eleven tracts in 1857 under the collective title *Hsing-shih liang-kuei* (Good principles to arouse the age), includes a piece, in five double pages, entitled "Introduction to Christianity" ("Yeh-su-chiao hsiao-yin"). It carries an 1856 date line; the tract is Doolittle's revision of an 1854 work of the same title attributed to C. C. Baldwin.[24] However, the piece, like the collection, is not identified with a single author. All members of the American Board mission at Foochow participated in the tract enterprise by planning subject matter and approving copy.[25] Still, it is obvious from the official reports of the Foochow mission that Doolittle was the chief motivator of the mid-1850s publications and performed tasks of writing and editing.[26]

A Foochow mission letter dated 29 December 1856 describes "Introduction to Christianity" as a little tract responding to common questions about Jesus asked by Chinese.[27] In fact, the work covers doctrines involving Jesus, but quite superficially. Mostly it articulates a pattern of Christian behavior. The tract begins with a rationale: We who have come to China to spread teachings (*ch'uan-chiao*) already have been here many years, but you still do not know our Way (*tao*). People often ask "Who is it who worships the teachings of Jesus (*Yeh-su-chiao*)?" We answer, "Those who understand them." We will explain the essence of Christianity so you will know what sort of people are Christians. If you readers want to know more, please read the classic of Jesus (*Yeh-su sheng-ching,* that is, the New Testament).[28]

The tract moves on to list sixteen characteristics that distinguish Christians. In general this list describes persons who are satisfied no matter what their economic circumstances. The tract

pointedly stresses that Christian teachings are available to all, even poor people. The first principle of Christian practice is that Christians do not seek wealth or grab for profits; even the poor and destitute devoutly worship these teachings. Another principle of the Christian life is its freedom from the "superstitious" Chinese ritual Doolittle was to describe (and deplore) elsewhere: In doing things, Christians never select "lucky days"; they simply proceed about their business with diligence. If sick, they do not cast divination slips but call the doctor to treat them. They seek the blessing of God (*Yeh-hua-shen,* or "Jehovah-god"). Even the sick and downtrodden continue to worship these teachings. The tract affirms that Christians do not emphasize outward appearances or conventions; when they worship they do not don fancy clothing. All that is needed is a sincere heart and sincerity of purpose. Thus, Christians are simple and sincere, and they are not necessarily rich or poor.[29]

To be clear on the distinctiveness of Christians in the context of the Chinese religious environment, the tract proceeds to make an explicit comparison: Christians are not the same as Buddhist monks and nuns, who are "without the five relationships" (ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and friend and friend), a serious charge sometimes leveled by Chinese critics against Christian missionaries. In fact, the tract continues, Christians submit to imperial regulations and officials' directives. They do not boast of their own righteousness, nor do they prohibit eating meat. They concentrate their hearts on thanking God for blessing them with whatever food they have.[30]

The tract specifies belief in God, with doctrinal points about God's incomparability and the Trinity.[31] The tract is too brief, and Doolittle's theology in translation too inadequate, to provide elaboration on how three beings unite in the one god. One imagines that this was the sort of thing intended for supplementary explanation by preaching to accompany or follow tract distribution.

Whatever the limitations of doctrinal clarity, the tract portrays God as beneficent and protective: Christians are people with awakened hearts who have confessed their sins to God. Thus awakened to the fear of misfortune, with diligent hearts

they repent their sins and throughout their lives do good and reject evil deeds. Jesus saves Christians from their sins and permits them to be in harmony with God, and to avoid hell and go up to heaven. The tract continues with further notes on the Christian life, referring to the ceremonies of baptism and communion, as well as to the practice of daily Bible-reading.[32]

Such habits of the Christian life and the advantages of Christian virtue find celebration in a second tract in the *Good principles* collection. Doolittle's rewritten version of "The Watchmaker" put into semi-literary Chinese a popular Protestant tract that seems to speak for his own Christian commitment.[33] Originally in French, it first appeared in a Chinese translation by Samuel Kidd in 1829.[34] In English it was available as a publication of the American Tract Society, which announced the title beginning in 1824.[35] The message of the tract is personal faith in the face of adversity and temptation: A poor watchmaker provides the example of the Christian life despite his meagre circumstances and the drudgery of his livelihood as a "mechanic."[36] Discovered by eavesdropping middle-class gentlemen walking home through the city streets on a Saturday evening, the watchmaker proves to be a model worker, father, worshiper, and husband. To add depth to his story, his creators made this paragon a reformed profligate who found God's love through the intercession of his loving wife.

Doolittle's "Watchmaker" has no Chinese setting. The location is clearly Switzerland (Jui-shih-kuo), and the emphasis is on the character of the man. The English version involves more doctrinal complexity and analysis of alternatives. Doolittle's watchmaker is not to be overcome by social pressures and conventions. The urgency of his situation (many children, sick wife, slow business) is not enough to force him to break his vow to honor the Sabbath; work ceases at midnight Saturday, and prayers begin at 6 a.m. on Sunday.[37] The tract suggests that the watchmaker's commitment in this regard is exceptional and requires some sacrifice.[38] He has to act with courage in a society that abuses God's directive to keep the Sabbath. Still, the watchmaker is not such an exception as to be unbelievable as a model for those whose lives he touches.

Explaining his piety to middle-class visitors, the watchmaker

affirms that in his unreformed state he had been a drinker and reckless spender, bringing misfortune upon himself and his family. Brought in a moment of critical illness to see the error of his ways, he has rejected these habits of his working-class society. Reformed, he has pursued with regularity and commitment a life based on Christian principles. Once mindful of the disposition of his soul, he was at peace and his life became meaningful.[39] This story has its effect on his visitors, who find his morality (*shan-hsing*) exemplary.[40] Moved to praise mutual love (*hsiang-ai*) based on holy principles (*sheng-li*), they recognize the truth of the injunction "to revere God above and to love men below" (*shang ching shen, hsia ai jen*). Thus does one show himself worthy of Jesus' love, and those whom Jesus loves have "true good fortune" (*shih-fu*), a spiritual rather than material condition.[41] One lesson of Doolittle's "Watchmaker" is that "Every household that reveres the Lord must have good fortune" (*fu*). There is a warning and a promise: "God brings misfortune to evil men and good fortune to men of virtue."[42]

The notion of "good fortune" and even material prosperity as reward for moral behavior finds expression in a third tract, a treatise against opium. Doolittle produced two versions of this tract, one in "Foochow colloquial" (1853) and one in "formal style," the latter dated 1855 and in the *Good principles* collection.[43] Doolittle's major writing in English, his two-volume *Social Life of the Chinese,* confirms that he held strong views against the use of opium.[44] His preoccupation with individual initiative and responsibility dictated that he direct his anger as much at the Chinese for buying the drug as at the British and American merchants who supplied it for sale.[45]

The two versions of Doolittle's anti-opium tract reflect perceptions of different elements in Chinese society. The colloquial version illuminates the dangers of the drug and moral justifications for its avoidance, as well as the pleasure to come through trusting God and thus finding release from the habit. The literary version calls to task those Chinese who permit the importation of opium for personal gain and urges readers to end the suffering of the Chinese people who are opium addicts.[46] There is an important distinction here: While the non-elite or sub-elite are

enjoined to take individual steps to erase a personal misfortune, the elite are held responsible for general welfare.

In both versions of the anti-opium tract, Doolittle advances standard reasons against opium use: It is illegal, unfilial, and the basis of personal suffering. It causes hardship within the family, putting the family in straits and threatening the integrity of the generations. It is injurious to the body, the soul, and ultimately to social order. Doolittle's solution is trust in Jesus, who is the best doctor for avoiding or curing the opium habit.[47]

Doolittle's "Introduction to Christianity" argues for Christianity as the route to a meaningful life. His "Watchmaker" shows the blessings of conversion. The opium tracts inveigh against bad habits in the interest of health, prosperity, and social order.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CHINESE

Justus Doolittle followed his predecessors' example both in writing tracts for the Chinese and in writing about China in English. No doubt this latter activity allowed him to let off steam, and he pointedly argued the need for China's improvement. First published mainly as unsigned essays in the *China Mail* in the early 1860s, his *Social Life of the Chinese* (1865) views them as trapped in traditional superstitions and idolatrous ritual.[48] The patterns of Chinese life offer him no discernible rational structure. He is fairly judicious in his descriptive treatment of a full range of topics inclusive of Chinese religion, philosophy, education, and political organization. But occasional judgments reveal his prejudice against the "sensual" and "vicious" qualities of heathen China.[49]

In reference to Chinese customs of betrothal and marriage, Doolittle pronounces them "not simply ridiculous and nonsensical, but manifestly injurious to society, as well as superstitious and sinful."[50] He explicitly encourages the "careful reader" to perceive the "horrible character" and "pernicious influence" of such practices.[51] He sees no relationship between Chinese customary appeasement of a vast array of gods and the events of everyday life. He interprets the Chinese people as

victims of enslavement, held in intellectual bondage to Confucius and Mencius and ritual bondage to Taoism and Buddhism.[52] He identifies the "principle of obedience to superiors" as the critical legacy of the Confucian tradition and the basis of China's society and government.[53] Doolittle lets his readers conclude that China's inhabitants are the worse off for "ignoring the existence of an everywhere present, omniscient, almighty, and infinitely benevolent God."[54] The "moral degradation" of the Chinese demonstrates their need for the truths of the Bible: "How much do they need the light of the Bible to illuminate their dark minds!"[55]

The harshness of Doolittle's judgment of China's "sinful" society is the more startling for its quality of afterthought. The original essays in the *China Mail* had offered straightforward description and probably lacked the editorial comments occurring in the book, usually at the ends of chapters. Foochow tracts associated with Doolittle omit denunciations of Chinese social customs and China's moral weakness.

Negative assessments of Chinese society in Doolittle's *Social Life* and the absence of such assessments elsewhere, particularly in his Chinese writings, suggest he avoided comments that might alienate readers of missionary tracts. But the audience for the book in English consisted of people at home in a position to contribute to the perpetuation of China missions. Doolittle had to persuade them of the need for support. Such pronouncements for the friends of China missions at home do not have their counterpart in unpublished portions of the papers of Foochow missionaries or in their Chinese publications.

The overlapping conviction, shared by Doolittle's *Social Life* and the Foochow tracts associated with him, is that knowledge of the Gospel could serve material interests. Despite the claim in his "Introduction to Christianity" that Christians do not seek wealth, Doolittle suggests that the exercise of Christian virtue will lead to the improvement of one's circumstances. This conclusion is most clear in Doolittle's "Watchmaker." The watchmaker straightened out his life and maintained his integrity to the benefit of himself and his family, suggesting an important lesson. He was neither overcome by his difficulties nor destined to endure them forever. One of his middle-class visitors is im-

pressed enough to leave his watch for repair; the watchmaker's having demonstrated that he was a good man has brought him new business.[56] Good fortune is the reward of virtue, though virtue must include hard work and worthy purpose.

MISSIONARY VALUES AND CHINESE REFORMERS

The idea of good fortune and prosperity was important to Chinese reformers, but not in the very personal terms of Doolittle's treatment. They assumed the primacy of moral values, and also addressed themselves to conditions of livelihood and prosperity. But they did not see a need for the individual moral standards promoted by missionary tracts.

Chinese reformers did not reject Western technology out of hand, nor did they deny the benefits of popular welfare to insure social order. Their forerunner, Lin Tse-hsu, Imperial Commissioner at Canton in 1839–1840 (and, incidentally, a native of Hou-kuan-hsien in Foochow prefecture), argued for the acquisition of Western knowledge and Western methods of maritime defense. Lin's son-in-law, Shen Pao-chen, also a native of Hou-kuan-hsien, was an official at the Foochow navy yard in the late 1860s self-strengthening movement.[57] Cheng Kuan-ying, the merchant-literatus of the late nineteenth century, argued that Chinese education had substance (*tao*) while Western education led to prosperity (*sheng*), but as to the latter there is a suggestion not of rejection but of caution.[58] Doolittle's tracts could be interpreted as emphasizing prosperity in Christian culture, though there is no evidence of any direct connection between mid-century Foochow missionary tracts and Chinese reform writings.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, a reform-minded writer named Sung Yü-jen also echoed some of Doolittle's sentiments, though without any trace of contact with Doolittle's tracts.[59] Although Sung made reference to Timothy Richard, whose Chinese writings he had read, and to Matteo Ricci and other Westerners, he apparently drew most of his material from personal reflections and his study abroad in England in the 1890s.[60] He wrote of power, religion, and material prosperity. He depicted Westerners as materially successful, having

religious systems that were extremely important in business and law, valuing profit and commerce. Christians have connections with business associations, and both religious and business organizations influence political life (*min-chu,* or "people's rule").[61]

Sung Yü-jen went on to provide an effective critique of the very enterprise Doolittle served so diligently. According to Sung, Europeans all emphasize profit (*chung li*) and hence encourage ability (*ch'üan neng*); this is the source of their wealth and power (*fu-ch'iang*). But Europeans also run counter to principle (*pei-li*) and have a destructive nature (*mieh-hsing*); in this they are barbarians.[62] The basis of their wealth and power is labor (*kung-tso*), and it has been so for over a hundred years.[63] Western teachings destroy human relationships, even though teachers exhort one to filial piety and friendship. Teachers who come to China exhort men to the doctrine of mutual love (*hsiang-ai*).[64] As for the Ten Commandments of Moses, these were reduced by Jesus to two: "To love others as oneself," which Sung likened to the teachings of the ancient Chinese philosopher Mo Tzu, who espoused universal love not dependent on status or wealth; and "To love all men equally" (*chien-ai shang-t'ung*), which Sung compared to the Buddhists' principle of equality (*p'ing-teng*). Sung found these precepts unsatisfactory, arguing instead for the retention of distinctions in social relationships as instruments of social order.[65]

Implicit in the words of Sung Yü-jen are both an accommodation and an indictment of Doolittle and missionary intrusion. Doolittle characterized Chinese society for his home audience as "heathen, sensual, vicious, and wicked" but still redeemable, and he saw himself as part of a benevolent movement toward that end.[66] He was not kind to Chinese literati who as acts of "merit" wrote tracts on subjects such as eating meat or building bridges, when he saw these acts as "selfish" and "personal."[67] Doolittle denied Chinese absolutism and its "superstitious views" and "idolatrous worship."[68] But his own system of values fitted as much into another absolutism, one never altered by his exposure to local Chinese society. Doolittle had absolute confidence in the applicability of his values to China. He grew up in an era in which Americans claimed special command of values such as individualism, humanitarian democracy, and the "free

enterprise system" and permitted these to assume universal significance because of their "absolute validity."[69]

In retrospect, Justus Doolittle seems to have been like his watchmaker, hardworking and sincere, willing to defend his religious convictions, even when the society around him made the exercise of virtue a sacrifice. China missionary service was a means of testing and strengthening his Christian merit. In the treaty-port era, such service led men like Doolittle into new realms of contact with Chinese society, but in the end it did more to perpetuate the missionary enterprise than it did to promote identifiable change in Chinese society. Shen Pao-chen's cautious counsel wtih reference to the curriculum in Western technology at the Foochow navy yard seems appropriate: "As for using the habits and styles (*hsi-ch'i*) of foreign countries to change the nature of China, it ought not to be done."[70]

CHAPTER EIGHT

Christianity and Chinese Sects: Religious Tracts in the Late Nineteenth Century

DANIEL H. BAYS

As indicated in Chapter 2, in the eyes of Chinese officials and Confucian scholars, Chinese Christians belonged to a heterodox sect. By the same token, the Chinese sectarian tradition gave Christianity an important point of access to nineteenth-century China.[1] This chapter, after reviewing some of the common features of Christianity and traditional Chinese religious sects, shows how conversion to Christianity in the late nineteenth century, especially in Shantung in the 1880s, may have been influenced by a strong tide of indigenous Chinese religious literature. The convergence of this literature, some of it apparently directly propagated by Chinese sectarian groups and much of it tinged with sectarian themes, with the propagation of Christianity by preaching and tracts, may help explain the large number of

sectarians who became Christian converts in the period from the 1860s through the 1890s.

CHINESE SECTARIANISM AND CHRISTIANITY

A sect was not a secret society (*mi-mi she-hui*), of which there were many in late imperial China, especially in the south. Rather, "sect" (*chiao* rather than *hui*) denoted an organized body that came together originally and normally functioned entirely for spiritual or religious purposes—to work toward the salvation of its believers and perhaps of society in general.[2] Sects might be led into the political arena and even into rebellion for religious purposes (for example, ushering in the arrival of Maitreya and a new age or cosmic order), as was Wang Lun's sectarian group in 1774 and the Eight Trigrams sect in an 1813 uprising. But this was atypical behavior. In contrast, secret societies (for example, the Triads, the Ko-lao hui or Elder Brother Society, and other offshoots) generally were more secular in their purposes, with only a veneer of religious coloration to attract supporters, consolidate members' adherence, or legitimize a rebel political regime.[3]

As scholars continue to study sectarian groups and to make more extensive comparative analyses of them, we are becoming more familiar with the considerable range of models of sectarian doctrines and behaviors. For example, not all sects were "congregational" in nature; they ranged from one type characterized by group devotionalism to another characterized by more individualistic meditation and an emphasis on utilitarian functions, such as martial arts. Likewise, the basic common White Lotus millenarian ideology could take on a very different dynamic in various sectarian groups.[4]

This general distinction between sect and secret society (*chiao* and *hui*), and an increasing sophistication in treating the varieties of sects themselves, are important to us today in analyzing traditional and early modern Chinese society. However, this approach was largely lost on the Chinese political and cultural elite at the time. To officialdom and the gentry class, what mattered was only the departure of both *chiao* and *hui* from Neo-Confucian orthodoxy (*cheng*), their formation of alternative

structures of value and identity, and the potential of these for political dissidence or open revolt, even if the creeds involved had no surface concern with politics or rebellion.[5] This imperial and elite lack of distinction between *chiao* and *hui* created its own tradition of viewing the two as essentially the same phenomenon, and has been one of the major obstacles to be overcome by modern scholars in trying to deal with sectarian religious groups on their own terms.[6]

In the late nineteenth century, religious sectarianism was probably at least as prevalent across China as it had ever been, and probably more so as a result of the strains and disruptions of the great mid-century rebellions. But, during these years, the sectarian tradition was joined in many parts of the land by the propagation of a new "heterodoxy," the religious doctrines of Christianity. And these doctrines, like those of White Lotus and other sectarians, came to be manifested in groups of believers who had a definite if somewhat insecure status and role in Chinese society. Foreign missionaries ranged widely in rural China after 1860, and mission stations and Chinese Christian congregations were well established in many areas, even if still relatively few in number and small in size, by the 1880s. With missionaries and Chinese preachers came the wide range of Christian literature in Chinese described in Chapter 2. Out of this fluid intercultural mix, as yet only partially studied by scholars, emerged one fascinating pattern. A large number of Chinese sectarians, including many from the White Lotus tradition, became Christian converts in the thirty to forty years between the opening of the interior and the turn of the century.

Western missionary records, especially from the 1880s, testify to a great deal of contact between Christianity and traditional sects in the late nineteenth century. Speaking broadly, sects seem to have been most strongly rooted and active in the North China plain, the central Yangtze Valley and Fukien.[7] Precisely in these regions missionary references affirm an unusual degree of interaction between their own activities and those of the sects, and pinpoint these sects as a major source of Christian converts.

Shantung province in particular and the North China plain in general was a hotbed of sectarian-Christian fusion. Several

Protestant missionaries became very familiar with the sectarian groups from which so many of their converts came, and a series of articles in the *Chinese Recorder* in the 1880s discussed the phenomenon of sectarians as converts. Arthur H. Smith described how what he called the "civil" kind of sect, that is, the congregational or devotional type not stressing martial arts and instead trying to "practice virtue," was the most important variety.[8] According to Smith, in the 1860s a Chung-yang *men* or sect in Te-chou at the edge of the Grand Canal in Shantung was dispersed, and the leader, upon his arrest, urged his followers to investigate the foreign religion. That provided the opening from which eventually were established the first Protestant churches in northwestern Shantung province.[9]

Smith also wrote that he had learned, while traveling from village to village, to ask who were "doctrine-lovers"; these were better listeners, and some had become converts and the core of new churches.[10] He recounted how, in one village, several literate men associated with the "Eight Diagrams sect," including one lower-degree holder, became converts and devoted themselves to ardent study of Christian scriptures and literature. In contrast, their old sect was very stingy with doctrinal books, according to Smith. A major reason these men converted was that a book of prophecy (*T'ien-ming li,* Ordinances of fate) revered in their old sect seemed to point to the coming of foreign missionaries with the true faith. While enthusiastic, these believers were something of a problem because they saw no conflict between their old sect and Christianity, and in some ways clung to their former beliefs after baptism.[11]

A Shantung colleague of Smith, D. H. Porter, in 1886 compiled a partial list of sects active in North China. Foremost among them was the "Eight Diagrams" as he, like Smith, called it (Pa-kua), which we know was in the mainstream of the White Lotus tradition. Among the variant groups he listed was again the Chung-yang sect, to whose followers Smith had ascribed a key role in starting the church in northwest Shantung. Porter noted that many from these groups had become Christians, though most were reluctant to talk about their past sectarian associations, and sectarian books were rare. But it was plain to him that, in making the conversion to Christianity, most of the

sectarians found the deity whom they formerly worshiped, the Unborn Eternal Mother (*wu-sheng lao-mu*), to be Jehovah. They also found it perfectly natural to believe in the incarnation of the deity.[12]

The Protestant missionaries like Smith and Porter who dealt with the rural Christian churches in the 1880s were aware of other concrete links with sectarians. One flamboyant Eight Trigrams sect leader who came to Shantung (probably from Honan) in the 1860s, like the Chung-yang leader described by Smith, directed his followers toward Christianity, though he himself did not become a convert before he died; many of his followers did convert in the 1870s and 1880s.[13] Some sectarian leaders who did convert, often bringing their followers with them, became important leaders in the Christian churches. An article memorializing the death of an important Chinese leader of the Shantung American Board churches in 1887 described how he had been a recognized leader of a Pa-kua (Eight Trigrams) sect, as his father had been, before his conversion in the early 1870s. He and the group of Christians he had recruited from among his relatives and friends helped pave the way for P'ang-chuang to become a station for the American Board missionaries in the early 1880s.[14]

At the 1890 nationwide conference of Protestant missionaries, Reverend F. H. James of the English Baptist Mission, based in Tsinan, central Shantung, made a presentation in which he summed up what seemed to be the experience and attitude of many Protestant missionaries in Shantung. He lauded the sincerity and devotion to be found in many sects and among their followers, and urged his colleagues to take the sects seriously and even to "learn something from them," because "large numbers of Christians in this province have been gathered from these sects."[15] James himself, in preparing this article, hired a former sectarian to compile an account of the sects of the province from "reliable sources" (apparently including some of their own materials). In an appendix to his article, he described briefly 10 of the 52 groups his Chinese friend had discussed, and also listed the titles of 50 pieces of literature used by these and other "sects."[16]

Protestant missionaries in Shantung were thus very prominent

in pinpointing, analyzing, and publicizing many kinds of links with sectarian groups before 1890. But Roman Catholics made many more converts than Protestants did in Shantung, as they did almost everywhere, and the potential for Chinese sectarians to enter the Catholic church was therefore even greater. Fortunately, we do have access to some Roman Catholic mission sources from Shantung in the 1880s, and they confirm spectacularly this pattern of a large number of sectarians entering the church. This was especially so in southern Shantung province, where a German missionary organization, The Society of the Divine Word (SVD), established an exclusive mission territory under the aggressive leadership of Father Johann Baptist Anzer. In several districts of southern Shantung throughout the 1880s and the early 1890s, Father Anzer and his colleagues discovered a candidly expressed desire on the part of many Chinese sectarian believers who were suffering persecution at the hands of local authorities to escape this persecution and gain protection from harassment by converting to Christianity. In some areas, already-existing sectarian groups, most of which seem to have been related to the White Lotus, were taken almost wholesale into the church, with their own sectarian leaders confirmed as Catholic lay leaders by Father Anzer and other European missionary priests.[17]

Sectarian-Christian interaction in these decades went far beyond Shantung, though it was not remarked upon so sharply elsewhere. One missionary referred to Chihli Christians from the Hung-yang and other sects, and another praised a leader in a lower Yangtze church as "an intensely earnest man" who only two years before had been a devout vegetarian.[18] Vegetarianism, of course, was often an indication of sectarianism.

Protestant missionaries in the central Yangtze Valley based in Hupei also were struck by their many contacts with religious sects. With one exception, they were not so conscientious as their Shantung colleagues in tracking down precise information about the names, internal organization, and writings of these groups. They referred to them generically as "vegetarian sects." But they likewise remarked upon the great interest many sectarians showed in Christianity, and upon many of their best converts being former vegetarians. One of the Methodists based

in Hupei even published in 1880 a 22-page tract entitled "Shih-chai chih-mi" (The errors of vegetarianism) which was still in print after 1900, indicating a degree of competition between Christianity and these sects.[19]

Much the same picture seems true for Fukien. As early as 1879, Presbyterian missionaries were reporting that, in the interior district of "Tong-yiang," they had encountered much receptivity to the Gospel from the vegetarians of that region: "Most of those whom we have baptized are of this sect, and a large number of the inquirers are of the same class."[20] In the early 1890s, an organization called the Ts'ai-hui, said to be derived from the North China White Lotus tradition and from a "vegetarian sect" (Chai-chiao) of north and central-eastern China, developed a certain amount of competition with the established Christian missions in Ku-t'ien district, Fukien. Some transferring of membership occurred in both directions before the society exploded in violence against the missionaries in 1895.[21] And De Groot, after a long residence in Amoy in the 1880s and 1890s, during which he collected vast amounts of data on several sects, wrote in 1903 that many adherents of the Hsien-t'ien sect whom he knew personally showed a "marked sympathy" for Christian doctrines.[22]

Thus, the existence of strong links between religious sectarianism and Christianity in these decades is indisputable. What are the reasons for this? I will consider briefly some areas of similarity in ideas and practices, then will turn to the possible role of literature, both Christian and Chinese.

PARALLELS IN IDEAS AND PRACTICES[23]

Some of the most basic items of doctrinal belief and worship practices of traditional heterodox sects often were consistent with Christian concepts and practices.[24] First, in terms of doctrine, most sects believed in a creator of all things, who out of compassion sent or will send a savior for mankind, which is in need of salvation due to its alienation from its source, the creator deity.[25] Through salvation, believers will gain eternal repose in a paradise where one might retain one's individual identity. Many also believed in a future cataclysmic end to

today's society, which would usher in a new eon or cosmic age.

In their manner of group organization and worship, the sects were generally congregational, although some were spread out geographically and only connected by a series of master-disciple relationships. Although local sect congregations were often centered around a particularly strong or charismatic personality, for example one with alleged special powers of healing, they had no professional clergy, and most of their lay leaders seem to have had no special status unreachable by the rest of the congregation. The stress was on the community of lay believers, and the entire congregation, male and female, usually met together at prescribed times for group worship, scripture reading, offerings of money and vegetarian meals. Indeed, the relatively more free and equal role for women in these sects, in some of which women could rise to important positions of leadership, may have constituted a most significant feature of their appeal to the female portion of the population. Despite their illegality, the sects were a form of public corporate organization, and possibly the only kind in the nexus of traditional Chinese society which recognized the open participation of women as persons in their own right. Likewise, a greater and more equal role for women as an important factor in the appeal of Christianity is evident in the relatively large percentage of Chinese girls and women in mission schools, working as "Bible women," and in the significant proportion of church members who were women.[26]

The moral behavior that sects prescribed for members varied greatly, and ranged from virtues identical to those of the Confucian culture, like filial piety, to mutual aid, generosity, and abstinence from wine, opium, tobacco, and sex. Many, seemingly the majority, of sectarians were vegetarians, and much stress was put on this practice as a means of accumulating merit. Some sects forbade members to worship idols, and at least a few prohibited worship of ancestors.[27]

A final point has to do with a compatible form of internal organization of many sects and Christian churches. The common sectarian pattern of layers, or series, of master-disciple relationships was sometimes replicated in Christian congregations. Strong personalities or already established leaders (sometimes

sectarians, as we have seen) might join the church, bringing their followers with them and continuing to have a hold on these followers' loyalties even within the church. Arthur H. Smith remarked upon this in 1881 as a particular feature of those groups of former sectarians who had converted.[28]

Some churches were set up so as to facilitate precisely this. Smith himself, in remarking with admiration upon the English Baptists' central Shantung operation in 1888, noted how a descending pyramid of Chinese leaders—2 elders, 8 "stewards" (*hui-li*), and 60 country pastors (*shih-fu*)—provided the infrastructure for a self-supporting church of over 1,100 members only indirectly tended by 2 or 3 foreign missionaries.[29]

Thus, in some important areas of doctrine, practice, and structure, the sects display a certain consistency with Christianity. But what might the catalyst have been which, building on these similarities, actively promoted the interaction between the two within this relatively short span of years? Perhaps the late-nineteenth-century outpouring of Christian literature studded with traditional religious terms and concepts struck a resonant chord among Chinese sectarians, who, in addition to their own secretive scriptural traditions, were also familiar with and utilized a host of other kinds of religious literature.

LITERATURE AS A BRIDGE?

There seems to have been a virtual flood of popular religious literature on the North China plain in the late nineteenth century. This seems a sound conclusion in light of the fruits of the efforts made by a few Shantung missionaries in the late 1880s, mainly English Baptists, to collect samples of this literature and to record some information about them—at least titles and in some cases a description of contents.

There is solid evidence of the circulation of nearly a hundred such items, and, since these were collected by only those few foreigners who had a particular interest in them, there must have been many others as well.[30] It is difficult precisely to determine their contents and an overall classification scheme, since the sources that mention them list most by title alone; unfortunately none of them are extant. Nevertheless, the following

general categories emerge from this listing of titles and the brief comments made by the compilers concerning a few of them. (1) Scriptures (*ching*) or digests of doctrines; doctrine is often claimed to be based on the revelations of an oracle, for example a phoenix. (2) Manuals of personal cultivation and morality; these provided both exhortations to humility and compassion and prohibitions (*chieh*) against certain sins, such as opium, alcohol or lust. Eight of the 50 titles listed by F. H. James are in this general category, and are specifically noted as being for public distribution.[31] (3) A group of medical books. (4) Records of the trials of sect members for sedition or other crimes. (5) Mystical or esoteric books, probably chiefly for use of sect or group members. (6) At least one song book, for congregational chanting in worship. Virtually all this literature seems to have been in the vernacular or an easy classical style, and thus quite easy to read.

By no means all these items were White Lotus or other sectarian scriptures or tracts.[32] F. H. James, who hired the Chinese compiler of many of these items, referred to them generically as "literature of the sects," but a close look reveals a very wide range of ideological coloration. Some, as James himself noted, were simply general "popular tracts of many years standing."[33] Most were quite syncretic, and many tended toward orthodox Confucianism, Buddhism, or Taoism. Variety seems their most important characteristic. Indeed, when we note the listing and brief descriptions James provides of the ten most important "sectarian" groups allegedly associated with this literature, we can find only two (the Pai-lien chiao and the Pa-kua chiao) that are unquestionably derived from the White Lotus. Others in this catalogue of groups apparently range from more orthodox Buddhist (Fa-lu chiao), or Zoroastrian/Manichaean (T'ai-yang chiao and Chao-kuang chiao), to Taoist-related (Ssu-ch'uan chiao or Chin-tan chiao), or even non-"religious" (Sheng-hsien chiao).[34]

Probably only a little of this corpus of literature collected by James and others was directly generated by truly heterodox sectarian groups. Such groups, while they had a strong scriptural tradition, also had members who were cautious about being caught red-handed with incriminating evidence of their illegal doctrines and activities. Nevertheless, at least a few of these

items do seem to have been digests of sectarian doctrines or other items designed for some degree of public consumption, as I describe below. And what is likely, of course, is that various sectarian groups, with their inveterate impulse toward syncretism, actively used a wide range of literature or tracts, including some that were only vaguely "religious" or generally supportive of accepted moral behavior, while their own particular scriptures were held more secretively among the leaders and some members.

At any rate, it was this perceived association among sectarian groups and the wide range of popular religious literature described above that led some missionaries to wax enthusiastic about the prospects of Chinese sectarians reading Christian tracts as eagerly as they read their indigenous religious literature. W.A.P. Martin noted in 1887 that missionaries should "recognize how much has been done by the agency of native tracts to prepare the way for [our] tractorian crusade"; because of it, Christian tracts are respectfully received, and the people are "in possession of religious ideas to serve as roots on which to graft the branches of the true vine."[35]

Some tracts written or edited by missionaries may have fitted right in with the broad general religious-literature scene in terms of accepted concepts and terminology. *The Two Friends* was probably one such tract, tending toward standard popular religious terminology. I listed over 20 of what I deemed the most crucial terms used in *The Two Friends,* and, upon checking in a basic dictionary of Chinese Mahayana Buddhist terms, I found that all but 2 or 3 had definite usages and meanings somewhere in the corpus of Mahayana Buddhist writings in Chinese.[36] At least one of the Christian terms for God (*t'ien-chu*) and those for Heaven (*t'ien-t'ang*) and hell (*ti-yü*), sin (*tsui*), repentance (*hui*), redemption (*shu*), savior (*chiu-shih-che*), and spirit or soul (*ling-hun*) are part of this traditional lexicon. A serious reader of *The Two Friends* would soon discover what differences of meaning may have attended the usage of these terms in a Christian context, but one who glanced only casually at the tract may well have assumed that it was of a genre of largely Buddhist-oriented religious literature.

Other Christian tracts may have unwittingly addressed more

directly some of the particular concerns of sectarians, especially in presenting Jesus in terms similar to those used to describe the world-saving (*chiu-shih*) Maitreya Buddha. Helen Nevius, wife of the well-known Shantung missionary John Nevius and a respected missionary and author in her own right, in the early 1860s composed a simple Mandarin catechism which for the next half century was reprinted countless times and was considered by some to be second only to William Milne's *The Two Friends* in popularity.[37] This catechism, in describing the establishment of Jehovah's covenant with the children of Israel and his promise that a savior (*chiu-chu*) would appear from among them, makes the promised savior sound something like the Maitreya Buddha whose advent many Chinese sectarians anticipated.[38]

While Christian literature penetrated the empire at an exponential rate in the decades after 1860, it seems that native popular religious literature also circulated more widely and more easily than previously. It seems that some White Lotus-related sects as well as some Taoist-tinged sects were more bold in their use of literature than we would normally expect for such heterodox groups, suspect as they were in the eyes of the state.

For example, some pieces of literature relating to the Chin-tan (Golden Elixir) sect, which seems to have had both White Lotus and Taoist influences, were available in the 1880s.[39] In his summary of *San-yi t'an-yuan* (Search into the origins of the books of changes) and of *Lü-tsu hsien-shih t'iao-kuei* (Rules of the immortal teacher), Joseph Edkins linked them both to the Chin-tan sect, noting that the former piece was written by a man sought by the authorities as dangerous.[40] Another set of three publications of the 1860s, collected in the 1880s, came from the leader and disciples of a sect which formed in Ch'ing-chou prefecture, Shantung, after a cholera epidemic of 1862. The leadership pattern and claims to supernatural power, as well as the stress on vegetarianism, fit the sectarian mold, though I cannot discern if any salvationist ideology is present, and one tract of the set does go out of its way to advocate loyalty to the emperor.[41]

Thus, although there was certainly still caution with respect to some sectarian literature (references are made by missionaries

to the scarcity of sectarian writings), and *pao-chüan* were undoubtedly not hawked on street corners, nevertheless missionaries were able to collect a great amount of literature, some of it sectarian in tone, and, amidst all the information on popular religion in general that they gathered, they were able to find out a good bit about major sectarian groups. This may indicate a relatively greater freedom of action for sectarian groups in the late nineteenth century, as the central government authorities, distracted by many other pressing tasks, lessened their scrutiny, if not their anxieties, toward religious heterodoxy.[42] This may have been a corollary of the preoccupation of some officials with the new foreign heterodoxy, Christianity. It also may be the case that more literature was produced after mid-century than before. Several items collected by the Shantung missionaries in the 1880s were written in the 1860s. It may even be the case that the extensive distribution of Christian tracts after 1860 actually prompted a corresponding increase in popular native religious literature, including literature used by sectarian groups.

At any rate, it does seem true that the move from sectarian to Christian literature was sometimes an important vehicle of sectarians' conversion to Christianity. The Pa-kua sectarian group which Arthur Smith described was drawn strongly to Christian literature and scriptures, just as they had been pointed in the direction of Christianity by prophecies in their own sectarian literature.[43] A fascinating Shantung sect-master of the 1860s actually used for his special scripture a Four-character classic (*Ssu-tzu ching*) that was tinged with Christian doctrines; this probably had been written in 1861 and published by Roman Catholic missionaries.[44] He annotated it with his own favorable comments on Christianity, and, although he never converted, many of his followers did after his death.[45] One of the tracts used by Chin-tan sectarians in the 1880s (*Lü-tsu hsien-shih t'iao-kuei*) had such a striking similarity to the Christian gospel that Joseph Edkins suggested that the writer may have been familiar with the Sermon on the Mount. This familiarity with Christianity and its reflection in this Chinese tract could, in the view of Edkins, help explain "the conversion of multitudes of the religionists called Mi-mi-chiau [*sic*], or Chin-tan chiau [*sic*] to the Christian religion, Catholic and Protestant."[46]

It may be that the spectrum of Chinese popular religious tracts in these decades of the late nineteenth century thus partially overlapped with Christian literature, both in terminology and concepts. If equivalences between the Unborn Eternal Mother and Jehovah or Mary, and between Jesus and the Maitreya Buddha, were facilitated by literature and further buttressed by direct teaching or preaching, it is no wonder that Chinese sectarians became Christians in droves during these decades.

The reasons why Chinese converted to Christianity were, of course, many and varied. Not all who converted were sectarians; probably not a majority were. And even among those adherents of traditional sects transferring their allegiance to the Christian God, the motives involved were undoubtedly complex. They must have ranged from purely "religious" faith to a highly utilitarian and perhaps cynical affiliation with the treaty-protected foreign missionaries and their creed as a device to gain shelter from government persecution. Yet, it still seems safe to affirm that, for the years between 1860 and 1900, the sectarian origin of a large segment of the growing Chinese Christian congregations was a key feature of the cross-cultural phenomenon of Chinese Christianity. And, in addition, the evidence also indicates a significant role for religious literature, both indigenous Chinese and missionary-Christian, in shaping the development of Christianity in China.

CHAPTER NINE

Elementary Education in the Mission Enterprise

EVELYN S. RAWSKI

To what extent were mission schools a product of adaptation to Chinese tradition? What values did Christian missionaries transmit through their schools? An effort to answer these questions suggests that mission elementary schools in the nineteenth century accommodated Chinese values and that missionaries bowed to Chinese demands on the form and content of the primary-school curriculum.

Elementary schools appeared with early missionary enterprises in Southeast Asia, a region seen as a testing ground for the China mission to come. Beginning in 1815, missionaries opened schools in Malacca for Overseas Chinese children; in Penang, Walter Medhurst started two Chinese schools before 1819.[1] By the 1840s, Protestant missions in China could report that "in all the stations,

and in connection with all the missions, there are schools in which several hundreds of youth have been educated."[2]

Yet, education remained a debatable priority in Christian missions in China until the late nineteenth century. This is surprising when one considers the emphasis on education characteristic of Protestantism in its Calvinist phases, which was transplanted to the New England colonies. But, when the Great Awakening stimulated foreign missions, Christians felt an urgent need to save as many souls as possible before the imminent millennium. Under these conditions, dissemination of the Gospel through preaching and the distribution of literature was the primary duty of a missionary.[3]

The debate over educational work in China missions concerned priorities. Some argued that schools diverted funds and energies from the all-important goal of saving souls; they thus opposed what they considered a dangerous diversion of effort. Further, education secularized missions and, in the early phases of the evangelical movement, this was perceived as wrong.[4] In the end, however, most missions did open schools, because Chinese indifference to preaching and Christian literature led missionaries to seek other channels of communication with the heathen population. Schools were a proper and efficacious mode of penetrating into households to spread the Gospel.

The number of schools financed by missionary organizations increased through the nineteenth century. The 1877 General Conference of Protestant Missions reported a total of 193 schools, enrolling over 3,000 pupils; by 1887, over 10,000 students were reported in mission schools, and in 1899 over 30,000 pupils were attending a total of 1,766 Protestant mission schools. Almost every important mission center included a primary school by 1900.[5] By this date, shifts in Christian theology in the United States had reoriented the Christian missions to long-run conversion and good works, although there was a revival of millenarianism in America in the 1870s.[6]

The actual expansion of mission schools was probably most influenced by Chinese resistance to evangelism. Jessie Lutz has noted that the number of schools grew as missionaries found they could ensure an audience for the Gospel by taking in

children, furnishing room and board, and teaching them. While it is true that the Chinese "desire for literacy could be used to establish contact," the education furnished had to meet Chinese definitions of what was desirable to learn.[7] In the nineteenth century, the ideal curriculum remained closely tied to China's traditional design.

COMING TO TERMS WITH THE CHINESE EDUCATIONAL TRADITION

By the nineteenth century, China was a complex bureaucratic society where demand for education stemmed not merely from the lure of the civil-service examinations, key to upward social mobility, but from the rewards for literacy to be found in the marketplace and in everyday society. It was a country where peasants were involved in local markets and where ordinary households relied on written contracts and documents in purchases, sales, land rentals, loans, family division, and the numerous junctures at which government touched the people: tax collection, household registration, official notices of new regulations, and the like. Evidence of a network of privately financed schools, a clearly defined curriculum, and a supplementary network of charitable schools testifies to the fact that schooling was available for ordinary Chinese in the Ch'ing period.[8] This was the society that missionaries encountered when they came to spread the Gospel.

If some Chinese initially responded to the Christian message by identifying Christianity as a dissident Buddhist sect, they could also fit mission schools into their own frame of reference. Endowment of education was a noble and worthwhile activity in Chinese eyes; donors of charitable schools were honored in their local communities, their names listed on plaques commemorating their good deeds. For Chinese, "the mere act of the gathering of younger members together and providing them with an education is the wisest and best contribution that one could make."[9]

The Chinese also understood the use of schools to propagate desired values and doctrine. This was precisely why Confucian

officials and emperors advocated schooling for ordinary people: "When a boy understands righteousness, he can transform the elders of his household, and can transform a neighborhood." This traditional argument for educating boys from poor families, identifying education as the key to moral transformation, runs through Chinese history.[10] In the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries expressed their motivations in a strikingly similar fashion: "Each scholar is provided with some primary Christian book. . . . The scholars take these books to their homes, and they are looked over and examined by the famely [*sic*]. . . . The great truths of Christianity are thus placed sefore [*sic*] their minds, and probably for the first time. . . . The scholars thus become in a measure truth-bearers to their own homes."[11]

Missionaries who sought to enroll Chinese children in schools thus fitted into the Chinese system of values. This aspect of mission work found a ready response among people, but only when these schools provided what the Chinese considered a proper education, that is, teaching of the appropriate traditional Chinese texts.

Three books dominated Chinese elementary education from Sung times: the *Thousand-Character Classic* (*Ch'ien tzu wen*), the *Trimetrical Classic* (*San-tzu ching*) and the *Hundred Names* (*Pai chia hsing*).[12] The oldest of the trio was the *Thousand-Character Classic,* written in the sixth century. It consists of 1,000 characters, organized into couplets of 4 characters, with no repetitions. By Ch'ing times, numerous versions of the text were in circulation, all retaining the organization by 4-character couplets.[13] The *Trimetrical Classic,* which goes back to Sung times, was also available in many versions. Organized into 3-character couplets, it included about 1,200 characters in all. The *Hundred Names* consisted of 400 family surnames, but, since some names were more than one character in length, the book actually contained over 400 characters.[14]

Put together, the three books, or the *San-Pai-Ch'ien* as they were popularly called, provided a beginning student with knowledge of about 2,000 characters (eliminating repetitions), which was the vocabulary acquired by boys from elite families before enrolling in formal studies with a tutor. These books were not

very difficult. The *Hundred Names,* merely a list of surnames, posed no problems in understanding. The *Trimetrical Classic* told a story, but the *Thousand-Character Classic* was made up of couplets which frequently bore little relationship one to the other. The primary value of these books lay in the convenient form in which they introduced characters to beginning readers.[15]

The Chinese method of instilling character recognition through a cram course in 2,000 basic characters is explained by one scholar as reflecting the nature of the language. Without an alphabet, there was no way a child could begin to read immediately; characters had to be learned one by one. In the first stage of learning, emphasis was put on character recognition at the expense of understanding and reader interest. To begin by teaching character recognition through complete sentences and improved content would have exposed the child to many repetitions of characters but relatively few characters within a limited time span. At the same time, content would have suffered from the restricted reading vocabulary. The three primers gave the student the foundation characters, permitting him to handle materials where content was important.[16] At the rate of learning 10 new characters a day, these three books could be finished in less than a year. In an elite curriculum, the student would then go on to study the *Four Books:* the *Analects,* the *Great Learning, Mencius,* and the *Doctrine of the Mean.* These would be followed by the *Five Classics:* the *Book of Changes,* the *Book of History,* the *Book of Songs,* the *Book of Rites,* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals.* These texts were the heart of a Confucian education.[17]

When missionaries first opened schools, they had little choice but to use traditional teachers and texts. Few missionaries possessed the language skills required to teach in Chinese, and there were no textbooks to provide an alternative to the ones used in Chinese schools. The Morrison Education Society, formed in 1835 after the death of Robert Morrison, which sought to establish and support schools using English as well as Chinese, thus noted that "Native Masters, of good character and attainments," might be hired to teach in mission schools, and that school books, the "best that can be obtained" in English and Chinese,

would be used.[18] In the school run by the Society in Macao, teaching duties were first divided between a native Chinese teacher and Mrs. Gützlaff, who taught English; when Samuel R. Brown was brought in 1839 to teach at the school, a half-day was spent on Chinese lessons, using Chinese books and methods, and a half-day on English lessons. The Chinese lessons were given by "a respectable elderly Chinese man."[19]

Acceptance of what necessity dictated was perhaps aided by the similarity of American and Chinese education in the early nineteenth century. Like the Chinese texts, the *New England Primer,* for a hundred years the principal text of American schools, spent most of its pages presenting moral lessons. The book included "The Dutiful Child's Promises," the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed.[20] Both American and Chinese schools of the period thus combined moral teaching with basic instruction in literacy. Instructional methods were also similar. In the 1830s, rote learning was still the dominant form of instruction in many parts of the United States. A reminiscence by Warren Burton, published in 1833, noted that "it scarcely never [*sic*] entered the heads of our teachers to question us about the ideas hidden in the great, long words and spacious sentences. It is possible that they did not always discover it themselves."[21]

It was inevitable that missionaries in the succeeding decades should debate the relevance of modifying the traditional method of instruction. Debate centered on two main areas: the use of "native teachers" and adoption of traditional Chinese primers.

THE NATIVE TEACHER

In their desire to use schools as a channel for introducing Christian doctrines into Chinese society, missionaries not only hired native teachers to instruct in classes under the daily supervision of a Westerner, but also subsidized Chinese schoolteachers, who in turn allowed missionaries to speak to their classes at regular intervals. An 1849 report on Protestant missions in Shanghai notes, for example, that there were two schools run by Chinese teachers that were visited regularly by Western missionaries or

their native assistants. The mission also sponsored a school in a town 12 miles away which had a Chinese teacher.[22]

The scarcity of Western mission personnel and the difficulty of the Chinese language and curriculum, particularly in its more advanced stages, dictated that the majority of instructors in mission schools would have to be recruited from the Chinese population. Missionaries agreed that the teacher should be Christian, since his influence on the students was so great that he could easily undo all the missionary's best evangelical efforts. Yet, it was not easy to find Chinese Christians who had the education needed to teach, and moreover met the foreigners' criteria of Christian behavior. The experience of the Tengchow Boys' School in the 1860s was probably typical. The school's Chinese Christian teacher was a man of indifferent abilities, who was replaced by another Chinese Christian. Unhappily, the second teacher renounced Christianity after attaining a minor degree but had to be kept on for five years because his services were needed. Other professed Christians hired as teachers turned out to be bad influences on the students.[23] While the search for the ideal Christian teacher continued, many missionaries had to hire non-Christian instructors, although some preferred to close down the schools instead.[24]

Western frustration with Chinese teachers stemmed from a conflict between missionary desires for a Christian teacher and the requirements of a Chinese curriculum. The victory of the Chinese milieu, reflected in the continued employment of unsatisfactory heathens, was symptomatic of the general missionary helplessness to reverse the conditions under which they worked. This is reflected as well in the eventual adoption of English as a medium of instruction in mission schools when the rising demand for English-speaking skills in the business world of the treaty ports stimulated Chinese to learn the language. Despite some initial resistance, missionaries yielded to this new situation and introduced English in all but the Chinese-studies curriculum.[25]

Missionary records show the pervasive indifference or hostility that their efforts encountered among the Chinese. In the 1850s, missionaries offered free tuition, free books, free rice, free

clothing, and were still "barely able to gather a few pupils into their schools," because Chinese were not interested in obtaining knowledge outside the Chinese classics.[26] In this early period, students were indentured to ensure that they would complete the course of study, since many left as soon as they "have gone through some of their own classics and obtained a smattering of English."[27] Education, so prized in the Chinese milieu, had to meet Chinese standards in order to attract students. This was the salient point against which missionary fulminations were helpless. In the end, the missionaries had to meet Chinese demands if they were to succeed.

The amazing aspect of this confrontation is that the people concerned were not the Chinese educated elite. For the most part, they were the lower segment of Chinese society—the poorest households. Missionaries noted that they had little success with the well-to-do; but even the marginal elements of Chinese society seemed sufficiently well informed to evaluate mission schools by elite educational standards. Into the 1890s, in a treaty port (Foochow), Charles Hartwell reported a Christian teacher who was required by the parents of his pupils to teach only the native books.[28] The faithful adherence of ordinary Chinese to the traditional orthodox curriculum reinforces the image of an integrated Chinese culture, in which Confucian notions had permeated down to the non-elite groups of society to a significant degree. The debate over texts further supports the picture of a strong and resistant Chinese tradition in education.

CHINESE PRIMERS

Missionary reluctance to adopt a Chinese curriculum stemmed from two points: the criticism of traditional primers as inefficient in teaching the rudiments of reading; and the desire of missionaries to eliminate non-Christian teachings from their schools.

The missionaries quickly examined and wrote about the traditional Chinese primers used in elementary education. Their evaluation of these texts was very critical: The *Thousand-Character Classic* was judged "poorly adapted to accomplish

the purposes of education. Children, and those too of riper years, never, or at least very seldom, take it up except with reluctance."[29] The *Trimetrical Classic* "from beginning to end is quite unintelligible to all except those who have made considerable proficiency in the knowledge of the language."[30] These missionaries called for the writing of Christian textbooks which would move away from memorization toward understanding of "the meaning of every character, and every phrase and sentence."[31]

The traditional texts could also be attacked from the doctrinal point of view. Agreeing with the Chinese on the purpose of education (to inculcate values), Protestant missionaries naturally wished to promote Christian values and eliminate Chinese ones. The theme of those attacking use of the traditional Chinese primers was, "We are not in China to teach Paganism."[32] The Chinese classics were a massive obstacle to the spread of Christianity and were not to be taught at the elementary level in mission schools.

The argument in favor of the traditional Chinese curriculum cited practical considerations: the lack of adequate textbooks to replace the primers; the Chinese enthusiasm for their traditional texts; the moral quality of the classics. Could mission schools survive without catering to Chinese concepts of a proper education? There were some who, with the Reverend Charles Hartwell, admitted that "the Chinese classics as a whole are the purest heathen classics that the world has produced. If they do not contain so original, mental and philosophical speculations as some others they are comparatively pure from immoral taint and contain many good practical maxims about the affairs of life."[33] Chinese books contained little doctrine, and their moral teaching had much with which Christians could agree.[34]

From an early period, missionaries noted that it was hard to convince Chinese "that our books contain more than their own." Substitution of newly written works for the traditional texts might teach more, "but the prejudices in favor of the classics are so deeply rooted, that it would be imprudent to adopt at the outset this otherwise reasonable mode."[35] The Reverend J.N.B. Smith wrote, "The pupils should be trained in the Chinese classics. If we expect to commend ourselves and our

schools to the Chinese, we must respect their ideas as to what is necessary to be a scholar."[36] This notion was carried to its logical extreme in the Mateer school, which increased its enrollments by providing quality preparation for the civil-service examinations. On a lesser level, many missionaries felt that mission-school graduates had to know their own literature if they were to help introduce Western knowledge into the Chinese world.[37]

Another factor favoring adaptation to Chinese conditions was the fundamental ambivalence of many missionaries over the extent of behavioral transformation they should encourage among converts. Many of the nineteenth-century discussions concerning the undesirable traits found in China that should be reformed did not conceive of culture as an abstraction, an organic whole; this concept was, after all, a product of the late-nineteenth-century West. Salvation of the heathen was the goal of missionary endeavor, but many missionaries were distressed at the deracinated Chinese who sometimes seemed to symbolize the Christian convert. As one wrote, aping foreign dress and manners made students "the butt for the ridicule of their fellow-countrymen." Education should not produce hybrids who were misfits in Chinese society but Christians who were equipped to cope with their own society.[38] This goal could be better served by schools that conformed to Chinese expectations.

Even those who wished completely to reject the Chinese traditional curriculum were confronted with the problem of providing alternative texts to teach Chinese. Calvin W. Mateer, after writing a trenchant criticism of what was wrong with Chinese education—it failed to develop reason and reflection, to impart useful knowledge, and perverted the moral sense—concluded by stating that the classics must be retained in mission schools while the Chinese written language remains "as at present."[39] Reverend D. N. Lyon dismissed the primers as useless but could find no alternatives to teach the 6,000 characters needed "to read ordinary books with facility."[40] The demand for Christian elementary textbooks, voiced from the 1830s on, was still unfilled in the early 1890s, when an article in the *Chinese Recorder* noted:

> It is a strange fact that although ten times as many pupils are under instruction in day schools as are in boarding schools, almost nothing has been done for them in the preparation of textbooks up to this time. Explanation of this can be found in the difficulty of the Chinese language in expressing ideas plainly, at the same time in a way in which they can be understood by junior pupils. It may also be pointed out that the first years of the pupils' school life must be spent in learning to read and write, which can be done just as well by the ordinary Chinese method as by the use of text-books which might be prepared.[41]

The difficulty of Chinese, which few missionaries mastered, and the particular problems of teaching the first lessons in reading and writing thus forced most mission schools to use either the traditional Chinese curriculum or a modified version of it. A survey of the first-year programs of study offered by various mission schools shows that the *San-tzu ching* (*Three-Character* or *Trimetrical Classic*), in its original Chinese form, was commonly used. It was certainly used in the Tengchow Boys' School run by the Mateers, which responded to a perceived demand for the orthodox Chinese curriculum. Use of the *Trimetrical Classic* and *Thousand-Character Classic* was recommended by Hartwell, and the former appears in a model first-year course described in the early 1890s.[42]

The original Chinese versions of elementary primers were not only used in mission schools; they were printed at mission presses in the nineteenth century. A notice of works by members of the Ultra-Ganges missions in 1847 lists "A reprint of the San tze-king, a Chinese schoolbook, for use in the schools, 1818," printed in 1,000 copies.[43] Wylie's list of publications of Protestant missionaries in Chinese includes the *Thousand-Character Classic* with the comment, "This is the popular little Chinese work of that name, with short notes explanatory of the characters and the text, given in a simple half-colloquial style," prepared for the use of government schools in Hong Kong in 1857.[44] The same book and the *Three-Character* (or *Trimetrical*) *Classic,* along with the *Great Learning, Analects,* and *Doctrine of the Mean* were also published in romanized Shanghai dialect in 1860–1861.[45] Printings of the *Trimetrical Classic* appear in the 1874 annual report of the Presbyterian Mission Press in

Shanghai, and the book was still listed for sale in the 1933 index to Protestant mission literature.[46]

THE CHRISTIAN *THREE-CHARACTER CLASSIC*

Missionaries also wrote Christian tracts in the style of the *Trimetrical Classic*, with the idea that the popularity of the original might help in the dissemination of the Christian Gospel. This was part of a larger attempt to seize on familiar works in Chinese in the production of Christian literature. Of the three primers in the orthodox Chinese elementary curriculum, only the *Trimetrical Classic* was widely imitated by missionaries. Christian versions of this title seem to have been produced throughout the nineteenth century. By the 1880s, S. Wells Williams noted that "many thousands of tracts containing Christian truths written in the same style and with the same title [as the *San-tzu ching*], have been taught with good effect in the mission schools of China."[47]

The American Board collection of Chinese language tracts in the Harvard-Yenching Library has many copies of Christian versions of the *San-tzu ching*. Ranging in date from 1832 to 1913, they may be classified into five different versions: (1) W. H. Medhurst's *San-tzu ching*, available in editions dating from 1823 to 1855. The text of this version includes 948 characters.[48] (2) *Hsun-nü san-tzu ching* (Trimetrical classic to instruct girls), written by Sophia Martin Little, dated 1832, 1,212 characters.[49] (3) *San-tzu ching chu chieh* (Trimetrical classic with commentary), by Chauncey Goodrich, published in 1865, 1,008 characters.[50] (4) *Sheng-chiao san-tzu ching* (Sacred trimetrical classic), written by Charles Hartwell, published in editions dated 1870 to 1913, 960 characters.[51] (5) *San-tzu ching*, written by Henry Blodget and published in 1875, 1,512 characters.[52]

All these tracts are written in rhymed couplets of three characters each, as was the Chinese original. The tracts all tell the Gospel story. They begin with a description of God, the Creator of the world, who is omnipotent and omniscient. Adam and Eve and the story of man's fall introduces the notion of original sin, which taints all men. Men differ from the animals in having an eternal soul and, without Christ's intervention, are con-

demned to eternal suffering. Jesus, the Son of God, came to earth to die for mankind's sins. Those who sincerely repent and believe in Him will be saved. Salvation is open to all, and is aided by the Holy Ghost. A Christian's duties are threefold: to read the Bible, undergo baptism, and take communion. The tracts end with a description of the millennium, when the graves will open and all will be judged at God's tribunal. It thus behooves the reader to repent and pray.

These tracts were not unusual in being written in *wen-li* or classical style. According to Charles Hartwell, even hymns were originally written in the "book language" because native Christians opposed colloquial scriptures and other colloquial literature, considering them an insult, since they implied the lack of an educated readership.[53] The same reason lay behind opposition to a romanized colloquial, although books were published in this form. The disadvantages of colloquial texts in a country with many regional dialects were also noted by missionaries as a factor favoring use of *wen-li.* An 1894 symposium on the form in which Western "scientific and mathematical truth" should be conveyed still favored use of classical over colloquial style.[54] Even in *wen-li,* missionary books generally suffered from poor writing. As John Darroch noted, the inferior scholars whom missionaries could afford to hire could not match the elegant style of Chinese *chin-shih* or *chü-jen:* "When the book is published, the best thought is found clothed in poor language," which Chinese readers judge a third-rate book because of the bad style.[55]

But the biggest problem in writing Christian tracts lay in finding appropriate characters to convey the Christian message. As indicated in Chapter 2 above, from the 1830s on through the nineteenth century, debates raged in missionary journals over alternative characters for God, the Holy Spirit, the soul, Heaven, hell, and communion. The difficulty of Chinese for most Westerners was compounded by ignorance of Christian doctrine on the part of Chinese converts whose opinions on the suitability of various terms might be consulted. A thorough knowledge of non-Christian texts and concepts on the missionary's part was thus a prerequisite for learning the full range of connotations conveyed by a given term. In other words, communication of

the Gospel might be improved if Western missionaries had the benefits of a traditional Chinese education!

It was natural that Buddhist terminology crept into Christian literature. Some writers like W. A. P. Martin felt that this was a "helpful preparation for Christian teaching," but others saw it as a source of doctrinal corruption. The use of *shen* (spirit, deity) for God was a case in point. On the one hand, it was a term familiar to Chinese, unlike the alternative *t'ien-chu* (heavenly lord) but was "apt to be mistaken for the gods of the heathen." One missionary complained that "the grief one feels, when *Shin* is used both in writing and in speaking, on seeing the natives point to their own gods, is such as almost to dishearten one in the circulation of tracts. Did there exist no other reason, but the use of this word being the same as that which designates idols, this would be sufficient to expunge it from every page of Christian books, as conveying the idea of the only true God."[56] Passions were so strong on this issue that a committee of the American Tract Society, meeting in Shanghai in 1848, resolved to recommend for publication only tracts using *shen* for God.[57] In practice, many alternatives continued to be used: the Christian *San-tzu ching* versions use *shen, shen-chu* (spirit lord), *shang-chu* (master on high), *chu* (master), *shang-ti* (deity), *shen-t'ien* (spirit of Heaven) and *t'ien-chu* (heavenly lord).[58]

Similar ambiguities were linked with the Chinese phrase *ling-hun,* used to translate "soul." In popular religion, the *ling-hun* existed as an entity only after death, and a missionary observed that the saving of the *ling-hun* signified the Buddhist notion of salvation, found in the separation of the soul from the body, rather than the Christian doctrine of resurrection of the body. In the absence of a clear alternative, however, the *San-tzu ching* tracts continued to use the phrase. Chinese Buddhist or folk religious terms for hell (*ti-yü*) and Heaven (*t'ien-t'ang*) were also widely used.[59]

It was no wonder that some missionaries threw up their hands in disgust and frustration. One argued that the heathen should not be the arbiters to decide for Christians "by what terms they must worship the true God."[60] The fact was, however, that an evangelizing mission could not hope for success in converting the heathen unless it responded to their perceptions. Buddhist terms

incorporated into the Gospel at least conveyed religious meaning. How was one to explain the Holy Ghost to a non-Christian Chinese whose associations with ghosts, derived from folk religion, were strongly negative? The Christian significance of communion wine and bread was also difficult to transmit since no parallels existed in Chinese tradition: "Evening delicacies" (*wan-ts'an*) scarcely seems to convey the Christian message of the communion.[61]

The Christian versions of the *San-tzu ching* were intended to propagate Christian doctrine. How effective were they as introductory readers? Table 1 presents information on the characters presented in these tracts. The Christian versions of the *Trimetrical Classic* were frequently much longer than the original work, but did not introduce markedly more new characters. Version 3, for example, introduced only 52 percent more characters despite being five times longer. The tracts were not really intended to serve the needs of beginning readers.

Table 1: Comparison of *San-tzu ching* Texts

Texts	*Total Number of Characters*	*Number of Unique Characters*	*Date Issued*
Original *San-tzu ching*	1,068	512 (60)[a]	
Christian versions:			
Version 1	948	369	1823–1855
Version 2	1,212	344	ca. 1832
Version 3	1,008 (4,379)[b]	473 (399)[b]	1865
Version 4	960	459	ca. 1870
Version 5	1,512	535	1875

[a]Figure in parentheses is the number of unique characters in variant editions.
[b]Figure in parentheses is for the commentary.

Since the Chinese *San-tzu ching* served an important function as an introductory reader in the orthodox elementary curriculum, deviation from the actual vocabulary presented in this work and the other two elite primers represented a gap which had to be filled if a student was to receive an orthodox education. How many of the characters introduced in the original

San-tzu ching were reproduced in the Christian tracts? Table 2 presents the relevant figures and shows that there was a significant break between the vocabulary of the original primer and subsequent Christian versions. Although the five tracts when taken together reproduced over two-thirds of the characters presented in the original *Trimetrical Classic,* individual versions diverged more markedly from this vocabulary. Version 3 succeeded in reproducing over half the characters found in the original, but the other versions presented only 31 to 38 percent of the original vocabulary. Among the characters omitted were the names of major grains, major historical dynasties, some of the seasons, and, of course, the names of Confucius and Mencius.

Table 2: Coverage of Characters in Christian Versions Compared with Original *San-tzu ching*

Text	*Number of Characters Shared with Original*	*As Percentage of Total Number of Unique Characters in Original*
Version 1	182	35.5 (31.8)[a]
Version 2	162	31.6 (28.3)
Version 3	296	57.8 (51.7)
Version 4	197	38.5 (34.4)
Version 5	188	36.7 (32.9)

[a]The figures in parentheses in this column are calculated on the basis of including all variant characters introduced in all variant editions of the original *San-tzu ching.*

As introductory readers, the Christian tracts were, therefore, unsatisfactory substitutes for the *San-tzu ching.* Students who were to advance in a Chinese curriculum would have done better to use the original text, unless the entire curriculum was changed. Since this change did not occur in the nineteenth century, the mission presses continued to publish the original *Trimetrical Classic* along with versions written by missionaries.

The nineteenth-century missionary endeavor in China has often been studied with an eye to its impact on Chinese society and culture. Analysis of missionary elementary education shows

that Chinese culture also had a great influence on the missionary endeavor. The resistance of ordinary Chinese to the evangelical efforts of early missionaries gradually moved Protestant missions into education, not for its own sake (as in the United States) but as a means of finding a captive audience for the Gospel. This opportunity had its price: missionaries had to supply what the Chinese demanded in education. Missionary efforts to by-pass these demands for the traditional Chinese curriculum and traditional teaching methods generally failed in the nineteenth century. It was not until the last decade of the Ch'ing dynasty, with the abolition of the civil service examinations and the reorientation of the Chinese elite to a Westernized curriculum, that missionary hopes were to be fulfilled. In the short run, Chinese perspectives and values shaped the form and content of the mission primary-school curriculum.

CHAPTER TEN

Chinese and American Characteristics: Arthur H. Smith and His China Book

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Chinese Characteristics was the most widely read and influential American work on China of its generation. Written in the late 1880s, it was still among the five most read books on China among foreigners living in China as late as the 1920s.[1] Smith's contemporaries read it as a wise and pungent handbook; succeeding generations of readers, particularly since World War II, have felt mainly exasperation of a vaguely Oedipal sort; the book is now best known as an example of Sinomyopia. Victorian furniture has come back into fashion, but Arthur H. Smith, D.D., has not, and we still think of him along with the antimacassar-covered stiff chairs and uncomfortable ottomans of the nineteenth century parlor. He remains unexplored because he is so familiar and so outmoded, not quite in

the province of Chinese history, but not owned up to by Americans.

Seen as a document of the American 1890s, however, his book has considerable force and interest. Properly decoded, it still has much to tell us of China's culture, or, at the very least, about the differences between American and Chinese ways of life and practical social thought. Many Americans at that time, and many historians since then, have seen the last decade of the century as a watershed or tipping point; industrialization, urbanization, and immigration seemed to change the character of the United States. In this situation of unsettling change, established middle-class people, who thought of themselves as respectable and turned out to be also white and evangelical Protestant, were both energized and frightened. They defended their position in society by explaining their customs and cultural attitudes, which they took as *the* American Way of Life. This naturally included everything from food, dress, body care, and architecture, to politics and religion, as well as standard cultural fare, such as language, music, and art. The success of American technological enterprise cast an aura of success and power on the whole range of cultural practices from baseball to motherhood. The respectable middle classes sought righteous comfort and social stability in the missionizing of their culture to people who might otherwise be dangerous; they set out to "Americanize" immigrants, workers, Native Americans, and eventually the whole world: President McKinley hit a socially resonant note when he explained that the United States must retain the Philippines in order to "uplift and civilize and Christianize" them. The meaning of American middle-class life, both at home and overseas, had become defined and justified in terms of a presumed unity of culture, morality, and technical civilization.[2]

In this context, *Chinese Characteristics* is an attempt to reunderstand China using the terms of an emerging popular sociology, and to re-explain Chinese ways by reference to a new set of cultural concerns. The book views and judges China in ways that earlier writers did not feel necessary. An examination of the book in its historical framework will allow us to salvage usable insights from the condescending and culturally imperialist vocabulary that encumbers it.

SMITH'S BACKGROUND AND EARLY YEARS IN CHINA

Smith, in the words of his lifelong friend Henry D. Porter, was a "true son of New England," born in 1845 in Vernon, Connecticut, to a family rich on either side with clergy and local respectability. Smith taught elementary school, and then entered Beloit College. He served in the Wisconsin Infantry for a few months during the Civil War.[3] Porter, a Beloit classmate, describes the college years as a merry, energetic, and efficient exercise in liberal education. Having been raised in a large family of cousins and in-laws, Smith was an accomplished prankster and storyteller, "a constant center of roaring merriment," "the funniest man I ever knew." Although he made a vow "never to be dull," Smith had an earnest side as well. Never was a pencil on his reading desk an inch out of plumb, nor a minute of his day unimproved with learning, or so reports Porter. During his junior year, when a young man might become more serious, Smith publically announced himself as a Christian. Porter presents his friend as a funny, weighty, and efficient man, but one with a caring heart as well—"Arthur Smith is a great lover."[4]

Upon graduation, filially following a tradition of his family, Smith went back to New England to attend Andover Theological Seminary. In February 1868, he wrote to Dr. N. G. Clark of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions that he had been delegated by the student Society of Inquiry to ask

> whether to labor for the conversion of the *Chinese nation* be not an almost hopeless task, whether their semi-civilized condition, the permanence of all their institutions, their national traits of character, do not aggravate [*sic*] of reaching their heart.[5]

Note here, before we go on, that the object of conversion is first stated to be the "Chinese nation," but evidently in an older sense, as in the King James version of the Bible, of "people" or "race." The deeper object is "reaching their heart." The approach to the intellect or the ailing body was only instrumental to reaching the heart. Moreover, to an inhabitant of Lincoln's moldable America, in the midst of deep and quick change, the historical chains of character and institution must have seemed very heavy indeed. The question of "national traits of character,"

of course, would be the subject of his book. Evidently, however, Smith answered his own questions in the negative, for he wrote to Clark a year later that he was committed to the China mission, that "it would be the greatest disappointment of my life if I cannot go."[6] As preparation, and probably to sway the Board's decision in his favor, he then went to New York, took his degree from Union Theological Seminary, and attended a series of lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He then worked in a parish in Chicago until he was driven out by the Great Fire of 1871. When he was finally accepted for China, he married Emma Jane Dickenson, herself of a parallel religious background and a college sweetheart, who had independently decided on a China career long before, and was ordained into the Congregational ministry.

Emma and Arthur Smith sailed for Shanghai in the summer of 1872. At that time, the number of Protestant missionaries in China was fewer than 500, but the general mission enterprise, in spite of the setbacks of the American Civil War and the outbreak of general rebellion in China at mid-century, felt vigorous and exciting. The opportunity of living and traveling inland was opened for the first time by the treaty settlement of 1860. The relative openness (whether voluntary or not) of the government to Western technology led to optimistic expectations of Western influence. Traders and diplomats often felt that religion should follow the flag: railroads, telegraphs, and cannon (bought on good terms and financed through Paris, London, and New York) should blaze the way. Then, when the level of technical civilization had been raised, the hard-headed types would invite the missionary to fill the newly created market for spiritual goods. The missionary, however, did not always go along with this view. The North China Mission of the American Board, to which the Smiths were assigned, gave attention and money to schools and hospitals, but they did not see their purpose as bringing Western knowledge to an ignorant China. As one put it, "It is not civilization [technology] that the Chinese want [lack] nor education, but true religion."[7] China was not a backward country, but a heathen one. Reform, even revolution, was needed, and there was a feeling that the ruling Manchus should and would be soon overthrown. But the "business of transform-

ing heathen society," said S. Wells Williams, "and reconstructing it is to be commended in all communities by working on individuals."[8] Thus, their practical ideology and working theology might be summarized as a kind of Protestant trinity: Evangelism, in the sense of believing in the power of the naked Gospel over the need for Western technical civilization; Populism, in the sense that they placed their faith in the common people, not their rulers; and Orientalism, in the sense that S. Wells Williams, James Legge, T. T. Meadows, and numerous others followed the precedent of William Carey, the first Evangelical to Bengal, in respecting Oriental ideas as the basis for an Oriental Renaissance.[9]

Ironically, then, the strategy Smith followed in his early years in China took him to just those people who were later to be entrance points for Mao's revolution: villagers, rebels, and sectarians. After five years in Tientsin studying the colloquial language—his pedagogical collection of sayings and phrases turned into the book *Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese* (Shanghai, 1888)—Smith gradually got out into the countryside. His first extended tour had been in 1874, when he began to address the farmers, hawkers, coolies, barbers, yamen-runners, and loafers, whom he described as 95 percent of his audience. The theory was that "Christianity always and everywhere begins with the lowest stratum and works upward."[10] The mission field of Shantung and Eastern Chihli was rich in history and tradition, and was still unsettled from the battles and uprisings of mid-century. Rebels, priests, bandits, local bullies—not always easy to distinguish from each other—ran about in great numbers. Shantung was, as Smith put it, "reticulated with secret societies, countless in number, protean in form, and to a certain extent shrouded in mystery." Smith was not romantic about the village audience nor about the secret societies. He commented that "the bulk of those who constitute an audience at Street chapels, at Fairs, in Dispensaries, &c. so far as we are concerned are in a condition of perfect intellectual torpor"; the "various doors and doctrines," as the heterodox sects were known, were a "concrete of superstition and absurdity." Still, Smith and his fellow workers were eager to use local leaders and beliefs as starting points. When one missionary later

argued that the Chinese, as "Asiatics," might have some inborn inability to comprehend the Gospel, Smith firmly disagreed, pointing to the fact that "Christ was an Asiatic" as well.[11]

For a period, then, Christianity in Shantung was content to take its place among the Eight Trigrams, the Sect of the Single Stick of Incense, and the Sect of Heaven and Earth, who in turn perceived Christianity as yet another in the succession of "doors and ways," yet another congregational means to heavenly salvation in opposition to Confucian orthodoxy. The general sectarian practice of physical culture or healing also was echoed by the medical Christians. This collaboration of misconceptions was useful to both sides in ways that were not symmetrical. Smith excitedly reported that one "Shantung prophet" had told his followers in the early 1860s, at the time of the foreign siege of Taku, that "by and by . . . those Western men will come to you" and "if they appear with strange hats upon their heads, and guns in their hands, you still have no occasion for fear." He counseled his disciples to "follow them, when they appear, and learn their doctrine, for theirs is the True Path, and the right way."[12] Another sectarian leader, said Smith, "perceiving that the new faith inculcated the practice of virtue, and concerned the soul, seems to have anticipated some affinity between the foreign doctrine and his own."[13] One group of "village revolutionaries," as Smith called them, whose leader had been arrested and executed, sent a delegation to Tientsin to invite the missionaries to come to their village—presumably being as much aware of the political as the religious value of their foreign presence.

Thus, when Smith appeared later in the area of En Hsien, the home of the "village revolutionaries," near Techou in Shantung, he inquired at the local druggist if there were any "believers" or "doctrine lovers" in the neighborhood. He was directed to a Mr. Hou, who had inherited the leadership of a Pa-kua (Eight Trigrams) sect from his father, and already converted to Christianity in 1872. He led Smith back to his home village, Pangchiachuang, where he then became the center of a group of Christians. During the great famine of 1878, Hou was used as an honest and informed local helper.[14] When the American Board's North China Mission decided in 1880 to open a country station, Pastor Hou's presence made Pangchiachuang the natural choice, and

it was there that Smith and Porter made their homes until the Boxer Rebellion (from which the station emerged virtually unscathed). The strategy of the missionaries was to set up as "natives" of the village. They chose to follow local customs and assume such obligations as paying for the repair of wells, roads, and bridges. They claimed exemption only from the support of "heathen" enterprises, such as temples and operas. In accordance with local custom, the newcomers arranged a huge banquet in order to "set up the pot." People from hundreds of miles around flocked not only for a free meal but to see the houses of the foreigners and their foreign ways. Smith and Porter could claim that their neighbors genuinely welcomed them, not only because they had scrupulously (if selectively) followed village proprieties, but also because opposition came not from the real people but from mandarins and the "bad class" of Chinese who were their lackeys.[15] They aimed to build a model-village Christian community, and thought that they asked only to be given a "free field and no favor."

Yet, at this point, one begins to suspect basic contradictions in the mission strategy. On the one hand, Smith's inherited principles led him to enter the village more or less as a "native," to accept Chinese society as the basis for conversion, to work from the bottom up, and to aim at the hearts of individuals rather than the nation. On the other hand, from the start of their village experience, Smith, Porter, and their families brought with them a way of life, a set of aims, and a political context that would not allow them to fit in so neatly and simply as they wanted. Protestants did not have the Catholic advantage of slipping as single individuals into the scene, but came with families and all that they imply. Smith noted when he arrived that, "if families come to live and die, they must have a habitation," and that the habitation must be of a certain style and level of comfort.[16] Of Porter's arrival in the village, he observed that "the procession of carts conveying his *impedimenta* from the boats may have resembled the train which escorted Jacob down to Egypt," for it "seemed evident to the most casual observer that *he* at least, had come to stay."[17] In a generation when many missionaries insisted as a matter of principle on wearing Chinese clothes and eating with chopsticks, the choice of the American way of

conducting daily life was a significant one, even without the Steinway pianos and Boston carpets that some American Board missionaries displayed. Even further, the presence of children and the necessity of raising them properly presented issues to a generation in which Horace Bushnell's book *Christian Nurture* was so important. Bushnell insisted that children should be raised in a Christian style which included every action from their conduct at table to standards of cleanliness. This must have created at least some feeling of separation between the Chinese and American ways of life which could not be theologically explained. There emerged a contradiction between wanting to enter Chinese society and wanting to change it, a contradiction not lessened by Smith's being unconscious of it. We will meet this contradiction again in Smith's book.

On a slightly more elevated level, there was a contradiction between entering the village as "natives" and enjoying privileges enforced by the foreign consuls and their gunboats. Missionaries became even more wary of "rice" or "lawsuit" Christians than were even their severest critics. But the issue was not easily avoided. The Shantung countryside was uneasily and loosely governed, if at all, and was therefore reticulated with petty feuds and rivalries, as well as religious sects. The traditional and necessary role of the rural patron was to protect the interests of his followers. Especially since the Christians set out to appeal to just those groups most likely to be exploited, the missionary had to face up to the problem of how to protect his flock not only from religious persecution but from non-sectarian fleecing. Women, for instance, made up a disproportionate number of the converts, and it was virtually impossible to avoid being dragged into family disputes to protect them.[18] Many poor Chinese joined the local church in high hope of secular protection, and many left in disappointment. The "shepherd" learned to be wary of "gifts": "Some are White Elephants and some are Trojan horses, to be discreetly anatomized before being hoisted within the walls."[19] Smith and Porter underwent a crash course in village sociology; they soon learned that they could not exist in China without foreign force, but that they could not progress if they were identified with it.

Smith and his colleagues wanted to be part of China, but on

their own terms. Manchu and Chinese officials were discovering that simple importation of arsenals, naval hardware, or coastal communications, without deeper reform, still left China helpless. They wanted to assimilate technology, but on *their* own terms. Smith's writing in the late 1880s took place not only in the context of his immediate village experience, but also in the context of American and Chinese controversy over the nature of what we would call culture, politics, and material modernization: How could China take in Western technological civilization and still retain her cultural and political essence? From this point of view, *Chinese Characteristics,* however flawed, is a still relevant discussion of the relation between technology and humanist culture. Smith viewed these questions from the basis of his village experience.

CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS: ITS CONSTRUCTION AND ARGUMENT

In form, *Chinese Characteristics* clearly betrays its initial method of composition. It is not integrated or structured, but a series of loose sketches—in fact, Smith in the "Introduction" says that the essays are not meant as a "portrait of the Chinese people," but, rather, as "sketches in charcoal."[20] There is no overall plan or development; it is rather like a travel book without the journey to provide a narrative string. The style and rhetoric resemble a colloquial sermon; the anecdote, the humorous aside, the articulate exasperation are rhetorical devices as much as they are expressions of ideas, and indeed they sometimes go contrary to the sympathy Smith professes. But Smith's humor and diverting anecdotes are mingled with frequent references to standard British essayists. A look through the book shows quotations from Matthew and Thomas Arnold, Carlyle, De Quincy, James and John Stuart Mill, Tennyson, Thackeray, and others less well remembered now. Smith also goes out of his way to present his argument using scientific terms; figures of speech drawn from chemistry, physics, and other sciences are quite common throughout. He remarks that the "sketches" may also be considered "studies in induction," which combine to form a total impression more faithful than the examples that make it up.

Earlier writers, Smith implies, had been misled by "a priori considerations," or failed to look beneath the surface of Chinese life. Only by collecting instances of Chinese behavior and analyzing them dispassionately can the writer see the "real" China, and avoid both immoderate condemnation and rosy praise.[21]

The underlying construction of a book of inductive sketches, then, does not appear from the table of contents, but must itself be induced. In this basic argument, there is a contradiction which Smith does not adequately confront. To put the matter too baldly, Smith, on the one hand, professes an Evangelical Orientalism, a conviction that China can become Christian and transform on the basis of its ancient civilization without Europeanizing itself. On the other hand, Smith argues implicitly that only by transforming its inherited cultural and social characteristics along lines that we now see are actually European can China undergo the process of what we would now call "modernization." We feel a contrast between what he consciously argues and what he clearly but indirectly demonstrates.

The final paragraph of the book is Smith's own idea of what he is saying:

> In order to reform China the springs of *character* must be reached and purified, *conscience* must be practically enthroned, and no longer imprisoned in its own palace like the long line of Japanese Mikados. . . . What China needs is *righteousness,* and in order to attain it, it is absolutely necessary that she have a knowledge of God and a new conception of man, as well as of the relation of man to God. She needs a new life in every individual soul, in the family, and in society. The manifold needs of China we find, then, to be a single imperative need. It will be met permanently, completely, only by Christian *civilization.* [emphasis added]

This is the essence of Smith's conscious position: China can and should reform, and the basis and origin of change are moral and internal, not technological and foreign. In earlier sections, he systematically develops the argument. China will not be able to make use of the railroad, telegraph, battleship, and steam engine unless she has first confronted her spiritual need; but, once this spiritual basis has been achieved, she is perfectly capable of developing without Westernization. Westerners had once thought they could "take China by storm," and "knives, forks, stockings,

and pianos were shipped to China from England under the impression that the empire was about to be 'Europeanized.'" China, however, was not a country to be taken by storm, nor was there any likelihood of Europeanization.[22]

Smith, along with a great many other religious leaders, was suspicious of technology and was adamant that the United States had not been uplifted and civilized by steam and electricity. "Do railroads ensure honesty in their employees or even in their managers? Have we not read 'A Chapter of Erie'. . . . ?"[23] Nor would free trade and commerce be of benefit without spiritual and moral tempering. It is "sufficient to point to the continent of Africa, with its rum and its slave traffic, each introduced by trading nations, and each an unspeakable curse, to show that, taken by itself, there is no reformatory influence in commerce."[24] But, on the other hand, reform could not come from the existing political powers, especially the decadent Manchu government. Even the best of incorruptible officials, Smith argued, will clear up corruption "as a cat clears an attic of rats, while the cat is there." But the moment the official turns his back, "the rats are back on their work, and everything goes on as before." Moreover, "the governing class as a whole is not the best but the worst in the Empire."[25] Political reforms would not bring about changes in and of themselves:

> Would the introduction of the ballot-box into China make the Chinese a democratic people and fit them for Republican rule? No more will funded [that is, material] civilization produce in the Chinese Empire those conditions which accompany it in the West.[26]

Ergo, China's imperative need "will be met permanently, completely by Christian civilization."

To the modern reader, this seems a great jump in logic. How can "character" and "conscience," even if formed on perfectly Chinese lines by a non-rational Christianity, be the basis of what we now know clearly as modernization? But it is precisely the Evangelical position that the "heart" of sinning mankind is the crucial area, not the ailing body or the intellect. The Social Gospel-oriented missionaries of later generations were more sociologically sophisticated in seeing that values and customs were webbed in economic and political networks (Smith himself

realized this on one level, as we shall see). But the danger of the Social Gospel approach is that it leads to taking Western society as the model. Evangelical critics were perfectly correct by their own lights in feeling that later social reformers were propagating not the Good News of Jesus, but the modern social spirit. "British character and conscience," argued Smith, have been more than a thousand years in attaining their present development, and "they cannot be suddenly taken up by the Chinese for their own, and set in operation like a Krupp gun from Essen, mounted and ready to be discharged."[27] But *Chinese* character and conscience can be developed on the basis of Christianity to form the counterparts of British or American achievement or even surpass them. The argument at this point is almost the old British Orientalist contention that all high cultures were equally valuable, but needed to undergo the equivalent or parallel to the European Renaissance; it certainly was not the argument heard among some Evangelicals that all heathen cultures were the natural enemies of Christianity, to be eliminated before the natives could become fully human. Since Smith was willing to start with the common people and work upward, he solved the dilemma of how one could both respect and attack a culture. For the "real" China was not the present decadent, aristocratic China, whose stench filled the nose and misery the eye, but the China that was to be, the China of the Gospel and the Church. This is an impressive moral message, especially in an age when there was a temptation to define modernization as simply the importation of Western concepts and technology.

The success of this attempt, however, depended on Smith's ability to define his Christianity in a genuinely non-ethnocentric way. Christ was an Asiatic, but Arthur Smith was an American. For, in fact, the strongest message of the book, which most readers have picked up clearly, is in opposition to his conscious position. The underlying argument is that "Chinese Characteristics" form a comprehensive block to change, and that they are as inseparable from Chinese life as heat and light from sunlight.

The component parts of this under-argument are vividly presented, but the conclusion is not drawn. The first part of the argument is that the various characteristics fall into families or related clusters, which are all caused by the same structural

feature of Chinese life. Good and bad features in the cluster come from the same cause, usually one that is such a basic and widely rooted one that it is impossible to change. Thus a second part of the underlying argument is a sort of functionalism, as we would now call it, the argument that characteristics are useful in Darwinian adaptation. But a further feature of the argument is somewhat contradictory to this relativism and functionalism. That is, Smith cannot overcome the use of his own middle-class American society as a reference point and standard of value. Where Herman Melville or Mark Twain in their fictional accounts of Polynesian life or adolescence on the Mississippi had questioned and examined their own time and values, Smith, in the end, does not. Bushnell's "Christian nurture" of mid-century had implied that Christianity was a matter of upbringing in a Christian atmosphere; Smith, at the end of the century, is following a line of reasoning that would imply that Christianity is a matter of culture. To be "modern," then, one must have Christian culture, and, by almost unconscious extension, Christian culture is American.

In this way, Smith builds up a complex view of some basic Chinese characteristics. If some of them seem familiar today, we should remind ourselves that earlier writers, from Marco Polo to S. Wells Williams, left out a great many things that are just those that we think most interesting. But the importance of these observations lies also in the fact that Smith is seeing China with new intellectual tools, in an almost anthropological way. Social characteristics are not natural or simply peculiar traits of a race, but the explicable results of human and historical factors. There is a power of *explanation,* not mere observation, which is based on an implied cultural relativism all the more impressive for being naive.

A brief comparison with a few earlier writings will make the point more clear. Earlier works such as S. W. Williams's *The Middle Kingdom* (1848 and revised in 1883), or Justus Doolittle's *Social Life of the Chinese. . . .* (1868), and John Nevius's *China and The Chinese. . . .* (1868) have among their concerns the "social life" of the Chinese. They describe customs and habits, but they do not seek central organizing principles, nor do they tie the details of daily life into connected wholes. Doolittle

discusses the "characteristics of the people," but by this he means that Chinese are "shorter than the generality of foreigners, mild in character, and timid in appearance." Later paragraphs in the section, parallel in structure and so presumably of equal importance in Doolittle's mind, tell us such facts as that "duck eggs are hatched by artificial heat, early in the spring, in immense quantities."[28] Doolittle is not interested in what later thinkers would call "society" in the sense of the whatever-it-is that is greater than the sum of its parts, the holistic structure. Likewise, S. W. Williams, one of the most scrupulously learned men in the history of Sino-American relations, can go through two exhaustive volumes without feeling the need to discuss the structure of society or anything like what we would call cultural characteristics. Nevius speaks of the "peculiarities of Chinese culture," but by the word *culture* he evidently means "education" or "cultivation," the older meanings of the word.[29] He discusses the temperament of the Chinese, and other characteristics, but he does not relate them to each other or to root causes in the way we have seen Arthur Smith do. Earlier writers, particularly Evangelicals, assume that the Chinese commonwealth, once it became Christian, could solve its own cultural problems; they were not a concern. (This is, of course, what we have described as Smith's conscious position, which is not at all strange, since he inherited much directly from Williams and his like.) But Smith, having lived for a frustrating and educational generation in a Chinese village, was groping toward what eventually became articulated as the Social Gospel argument that Chinese society was itself an obstacle to Christianization. The paradox was this: In order for China to become Christian, it had to first develop those characteristics that could only be a result of its first having already become Christian.

SMITH'S MAJOR CONCLUSIONS

Let us look at four of the root causes we can discern organizing Smith's argument:

The Discovery of Poverty

Earlier descriptions of China had generally and cumulatively resembled the watercolor paintings of the China coast. China was exotic, often pretty, and prosperous. But Smith is among those who want to present the "real" China:

> Chinese society resembles some of the scenery in China. At a little distance it appears fair and attractive. Upon a nearer approach, however, there is invariably much that is shabby and repulsive, and the air is full of odors which are not fragrant.[30]

Earlier mission and travel accounts rarely mention poverty, and more often extol China's advanced state. After all, this was only a fair assessment in the period before Europe's industrial and commercial leap. But Smith sees poverty everywhere, and uses it as an explanation for many further observations. Using a nice scientific metaphor, Smith declares that "food and money are the twin foci of the Chinese ellipse" and that "hopeless poverty is the most prominent fact in the Chinese Empire." The chapters on "Economy" (in the sense of frugality), "The Absence of Sympathy," and "Industry" (in the sense of hard work) are based on the argument that the "hard material basis" of Chinese life is their common root cause. Natural sympathy is lacking, for, "whatever might be the benevolent impulses of any Chinese, he is from the nature of the case wholly helpless to relieve even a thousandth part of the misery which he sees about him all the time."[31] The struggle for existence "reduces poverty to a science":

> Ages of experience have taught them that it is very difficult to make industry a stepping stone to those wider opportunities which we of the West have come to look upon as its natural results. They are "natural" only in the sense that when appropriate conditions are found these results will follow. A population of five hundred to the square mile is not one of the conditions adapted to the practical verification of the adage that industry and economy are the two hands of fortune.[32]

This is relativistic and functionalist in that it recognizes that social traits are not part of an abstract national "character," or

dictated by the climate, but rather products of particular and discoverable causes. Human nature, he implies (though elsewhere denies) is not nature's nature, but formed by economic necessity and social habit.

Social Solidarity

A second underlying principle is social solidarity, the "complex and compact" life of the family and village. Smith is quick to take up the fact that the individual is not the basic unit, but the family, clan, or village. In the chapter "Mutual Responsibility and Respect for Law," for instance, Smith points out that the social basis of Chinese life leads to many of the legal attitudes of the Chinese, in which the group is held responsible and often takes private action. "Social Typhoons," "Mutual Responsibility and Respect for Law," and "Mutual Suspicion," are directly related to each other by this principle, and it is behind much of what Smith has to say about "Conservatism," "Absence of Sympathy," and "Contempt for Foreigners." The received immutable solidity of Chinese social organization is responsible both for conservative complacence and for stability and human respect, both for China's humiliation and for her accomplishment. Faced at home in "nominally Christian lands" with moral disintegration in the face of the factory and the political state, Smith appreciates the usefulness of this solidity. Contrasting the Chinese "inherent respect for law" with the "alarming increase of crime in many Western lands during the last thirty years," Smith "must confess to a decided conviction that human life is safer in . . . Peking than in New York." In the West, he argues, laws are widely ignored or defied, "as if the assertion of personal liberty were one of the greatest needs, instead of one of the principal dangers of the time." We even read of the honest innkeeper who ran several miles after the departed traveler to restore an empty sardine tin![33]

Chinese Culture Is Not American Respectable Middle-Class Culture

Smith was in the first generation of Americans who could live inland, in Chinese surroundings, rather than in the treaty-port

periphery. Men and women of his time could not have the perspectives to interpret their experience in ways that would seem respectable to later generations brought up on anthropological concepts and warned against racial snobbism. But Smith was an acute observer; mixed in with retrospectively embarrassing ethnocentrism are sharp and still true observations.

The characteristics Smith notes by their "absence," (or Chinese "disregard," "indifference") form a virtual checklist of the terms in which middle-class Americans defined themselves: Time (in the sense of punctuality, respect for it as an equivalent to money, and regulated social rhythm), Accuracy, Public Spirit, Comfort and Convenience, Nerves (in George Beard's sense, as we will explain below), Sympathy, and Sincerity. Their absence is made all the more exasperating to Smith by the abundant presence of other equally valuable middle-class characteristics, such as Industry (in the sense of hard work), Economy, Politeness, Patience, and Perseverance. The chapters on the "Talent for Indirection" and "Flexible Inflexibility" are full of frustration that "cooks, coolies, gardeners, carters—all agree in distrusting *our* judgment, and in placing supreme reliance on their own." "They" put the bread in the oven before it is properly risen, pull up the grass along with the weeds from the front lawn, refrain from exactitude in the use of numbers and weights, and so forth. In the chapters on "Indifference to Comfort and Convenience," "Physical Vitality," "Patience and Perseverance," and "Content and Cheerfulness," Smith elaborates examples. Chinese clothes ensure a degree of discomfort such that "no Anglo-Saxon would willingly tolerate the disabilities of such an attire, if he could by any possibility be relieved of it" (a statement, by the way, which is disproven by the evident willingness of a number of missionaries to do just that).[34] Chinese lack underclothing, pajamas, pockets, pillows, and do not change their clothes when wet. Their domestic architecture is a tissue of absurdities, full of smoke, bugs, darkness, damp, and cold. In winter, houses "always appear to a Westerner a thesaurus of discomfort," and their coldness leads the Chinese to crowd together in a manner "no Westerner would tolerate . . . , yet the Chinese do not appear to mind it."[35]

The chapter "The Absence of Nerves" has struck a number

of readers as the epitome of condescending cultural imperialism, and not without reason. Victorian medical theories confidently showed "scientific" reasons why women were to be confined to the status of the weaker sex; Chinese, Smith firmly reports, are physiologically—or would it be psychologically? Smith does not know—peculiar:

> It seems to make no difference to a Chinese how long he remains in one particular position. . . . The very infants in arms, instead of squirming and wriggling as our children begin to do almost as soon as they are born, lie as impassive as so many mud gods. . . . It seems to be a physiological fact that to the Chinese exercise is superfluous. . . . Generally speaking the Chinese are able to sleep anywhere. None of the trifling disturbances which drive us to despair annoy him. With a brick for a pillow, he can lie down on his bed of stalks or mud bricks or rattan and sleep the sleep of the just. . . . Besides this, we must take into account the fact that in China breathing seems to be optional. There is nowhere ventilation worth the name. . . . The Chinese does not care how many people see him, or when, nor for how great a length of time, and he cannot help suspecting that there must be something wrong about persons who so vehemently resent mere inspection.[36]

The point is not the truth or falsity of these observations. Some of them strike a modern visitor to China as familiar, and there are even some survey data that babies differ from culture to culture in their level of activity as young as one month. But Smith's more basic contention, illustrated with quotations from sensitive ladies such as Mrs. Browning and George Eliot, is that nervous diseases are the result of nothing less than "modern civilization" ("civilization" again in the sense of technology). That is, Chinese do not exhibit the newly formed sensibilities of middle-class propriety because they live in different material circumstances.

Smith follows, without saying so, the analysis of Dr. George Beard, a popular author and lecturer in New York during the time Smith was studying there. Beard's *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York, 1881), held that "American nervousness is the product of American civilization" and that "where there is no civilization there is no nervousness." The hustle and strain of American material life drain the energy

from the nervous system in the manner that putting too many light bulbs on an electrical circuit drains electrical energy and causes the bulbs to dim. Americans were, therefore, finer and more delicate than other races, argues Beard, more susceptible to nervous disease and discomfort.[37] Smith, while accepting the general notion, disagrees with the more racist implications. Beard felt, on the testimony of that refined lady, Mrs. Isabella Bird, that the Japanese were the only Orientals with a nervous disposition; he even argued that opium was not always harmful to the Chinese.[38] But Smith had always recognized that the Chinese had a civilization of their own, and felt that long experience in dealing with it had made them calmer and more reasonable (though he does offer also the contradictory explanation that constantly impending financial ruin would produce a nervous Chinese as well): "Which is the best adapted to survive in the struggles of the twentieth century, the 'nervous' European, or the tireless, all-pervading, and phlegmatic Chinese?"[39]

In all this, our reaction is poised between a nervous chuckle meant to dissociate us from Smith's clumsiness and, on the other hand, a feeling that there is something after all to what he says, a basis of insight put into a false structure. Comments on the "entire absence of sanitation" are comprehensible to us as fellow converts to the germ theory of disease, although Smith goes beyond the bounds of universalistic science upon occasion. He likewise betrays a late-nineteenth-century sentimentality in declaring it to be "a criticism substantially just that there are no homes in Asia."[40] We sympathize and cringe at the fact that a foreigner takes it upon himself to lead the uplift of women, and looks in China for the sort of feminization of culture that characterized middle-class America; Smith quotes T. T. Meadows that Chinese literature (unlike Hindu classics) is so completely exempt from "licentious descriptions" that "there is not a single sentence in the whole of their sacred books . . . that may not, when translated word for word, be read aloud in any family in England."[41] Even where China is praiseworthy, it is because European standards are met.

Sincerity, Sin, and Cultural Revolution

Among the characteristics Smith noted by its "absence" is "sincerity." "Much of the incomprehensibility of the Chinese is due to their insincerity"; "one can never be sure what they are after."[42] Neither is one sure what Smith is after, for he runs together a number of observations. One is fabled and virtually uncontestable Chinese politeness, a reluctance to allow uncomfortable social realities to grind together without the oil of courtesy. The practical courtesies of an old and settled country appear "insincere" to the literal-minded American. Another matter is the difficulty of the untutored but powerful foreigner in ascertaining subtleties and even plain facts that are perfectly apparent (or perhaps embarrassing) to the insider. "In China," wrote Smith with the edge of exasperation again coming into his tone, "it is literally true that a fact is the hardest thing in the world to get. One never feels that he has been told the whole of anything."[43] Quite different is the strategem, virtually forced upon government officials in dealing with foreigners, of superficially reconciling the irresistible force of foreign demands with the immovable object of local resistance by simply making verbal concessions, which turn out to be "insincere." Still another charge relates to the honesty of the Chinese. Having pointed out that Peking was probably safer than New York, and that mutual responsibility and group organization give legal tone to Chinese society, Smith concedes that "we by no means intend to affirm such a proposition as that there is no honesty in China, but only that, so far as our experience and observation go, it is literally impossible to be sure of finding it anywhere."[44] Perhaps the weakness of Smith's feeling is betrayed by the contorted sentence structure; at the very least he does not apply his well-taken argument that poverty is the central fact of Chinese life, and that poverty is not the best begetter of honesty.

Aside from the particulars of the argument, however, Smith's interest in the subject is itself interesting. Lionel Trilling sees the emergence of sincerity as a desirable social virtue to have been one of the basic shifts in the modern European mentality.[45] By "sincerity" Smith refers to what we can from that perspective see as an essentially romantic impulse to insist on

naturalness, to deprecate convention, and to express the honest inner feelings of the individual in a straightforward way. This is related to the idea that Ruth Benedict put forward in her study of Japan which distinguishes a "guilt" culture, such as Protestant Europe (concerned with the congruence of inner values with outer necessity) from a "shame culture" (interested mainly in outward conformity and social acquiescence). Wolfram Eberhard has challenged the applicability of this concept to traditional China, and Francis Hsu has continued the debate, leaving it clear only that the concept of "sincerity" points us to intriguing contrasts between American middle-class culture and Chinese.[46]

By confusing politeness, historical complexity, distrust of outsiders, and desperate diplomacy, however, Smith skirts the verge of racism. Sincerity was of course a prized Confucian virtue—though Confucius did practice social insincerity upon occasion, his goal was to reach the stage of 70 years old, when he could "know the will of Heaven," and follow his heart's desire without transgressing what was right.[47] But Lu Hsun, a New Culture intellectual and acknowledged patriot, shared something very much like Smith's concern. In "The True Story of Ah Q," published in 1918, says Lin Yu-sheng in a recent study, Lu Hsun exposes the Chinese lack of "inner self," without which there is no "possible source for generating intellectual and moral change from within, or for receiving the stimulus for moral change from without."[48] Running through the New Culture movement was a concern, which gave the movement its name, with the weakness of Chinese culture which is remarkably similar to Smith's. Smith was confused and imprecise in calling for Christian civilization to remedy China's lack of conscience and character, but no more so than the succeeding generation of sophisticated and fruitful patriotic intellectuals.

The achievement in *Chinese Characteristics* is flawed by immaturity of theory and by Smith's failure to examine his own middle-class American culture in such a way as to understand its own relativity—Smith does note a number of particular instances where his own culture falls behind or could profit from the Chinese example, but it still remains the reference of value.

But his achievement is real: The book stands as a morally earnest examination of the problem of "modernizing" Chinese life without losing its moral center. The argument is to a considerable degree based on involved observation rather than a priori deduction or literary evidence. Smith did not spare effort or concern in his attempt to see China whole and real. The attempt is not successful because Smith lacked self-consciousness and the sense, which perhaps only historical experience could give, of irony and ambiguity. But *Chinese Characteristics,* with all its flaws understood, is still a stimulating and informative work. For Americans especially, it is an exasperating challenge to sort out its honest insights from its ethnocentric cultural condescension, and to do what Smith could not do, to end the confusion between American middle-class culture in its peculiarities and modern culture in general.

Abbreviations
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Abbreviations Used in the Notes

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
BHA	Belchertown Historical Association
CC	*Chinese Characteristics,* by Arthur H. Smith
CCC	China Continuation Committee
Ch. Repos.	*The Chinese Repository*
CLPTL	*Chiao-liu-pa tsung-lun,* by Shang Te-che
CMYB	*China Mission Yearbook*
CR	*Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*
IRM	*International Review of Missions*
LMS	London Missionary Society
MLK	*Mei-li-ko ho-sheng-kuo chih-lueh,* by E. C. Bridgman
MRL	Missionary Research Library
SKD	Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China
SVD	Society of the Divine Word
THYK	*Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao mei-yueh t'ung-chi-chuan*
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

NOTES

Chapter 1. Introduction, by John King Fairbank

1. Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese.* See the *Catalogue of Protestant Missionary Works in Chinese, Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University,* comp. John Yung-hsiang Lai. This lists over 500 tracts, textbooks, and biblical translations.
2. In preparing this introduction, I have been much indebted to Professor Barnett for both ideas and phraseology.
3. For the most balanced and comprehensive treatment of the historical context of these studies, see Paul A. Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900."
4. Over half a century ago, K. S. Latourette made a detailed survey of personnel and their activities in his *A History of Christian Missions in China.* Although he mapped out only the foreign-mission side, few have gone further.
5. Archie R. Crouch is compiling a *Scholar's Guide to China Mission Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States.*
6. The potentialities of this Chinese-language missionary journal have been neatly demonstrated by Adrian A. Bennett and Kwang-Ching Liu, "Christianity in the Chinese Idiom: Young J. Allen and the Early *Chiao-hui hsin-pao,* 1868–70." The journal was reprinted by Hua-wen shu-chü, Taipei, 1968.
7. Yamamoto Sumiko, "1920 nen dai no han-Kirisutokyō undō ni tsuite," *Shiron* 57–58:96–116 (March 1960).
8. For a recent summary of themes developed in chapters below, see

Murray A. Rubinstein, "Propagating the Democratic Gospel: Western Missionaries and the Diffusion of Western Thought in China 1830–1848," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 11:251–272 (July 1982). For an interesting appraisal of the early Western community in China study, see Elizabeth Malcolm, "The *Chinese Repository* and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850," *Modern Asian Studies* 7.2:165–178 (1973).

9. The early expansion of American merchants, naval officers, and missionaries is integrated in James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World 1776–1882.* A comparable synthesis for East Asia has not yet been made. But, for a comparison of the growth of American missions in the Near East and Far East, see James A. Field, Jr., "Near East Notes and Far East Queries," in Fairbank, ed., *The Missionary Enterprise,* pp. 25–55.
10. In the history of Christian missions, there is no counterpart to Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'occident: le commerce à Canton au XVIII siècle 1719–1833.* The only comparably thorough work is Latourette's history of 1929, cited in note 4 above.
11. For an admirably ambitious and provocative attempt at synthesis, see Donald W. Treadgold, *The West in Russia and China: Religious and Secular Thought in Modern Times,* Vol. 2, *China 1582–1949.* Study of the Jesuit role in China is now aided by the *China Mission Studies (1550–1800) Bulletin,* edited by David E. Mungello. See also his *Leibniz and Confucianism: The Search for Accord.* The most recent and trenchant reappraisal is John D. Young, *Confucianism and Christianity: The First Encounter.*
12. Philip A. Kuhn, "Origins of the Taiping Vision: Cross-Cultural Dimensions of a Chinese Rebellion," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 19.3:350–366 (July 1977).
13. Daniel H. Bays, "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 4.7:33–55 (June 1982); see note 15 citing D. MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Missions in China,* pp. 19–20.
14. Visual examples are provided by a painting showing Robert Morrison translating the Bible with his two Chinese teachers and, a century later, a photograph showing "senior missionaries with their Chinese teachers"—three distinguished-looking missionaries in black seated around a table with five Chinese in white—working as a committee to revise the translation of the Bible. See J. K. Fairbank, ed., *China Old and New:* Fifteen sound/color filmstrips; see filmstrip no. 10, "Early modernization," slides 25 and 26.
15. See Sherman Cochran, "Commercial Penetration and Economic Imperialism in China: An American Cigarette Company's Entrance into the Market."
16. Paul A. Cohen, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T'ao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China.*
17. Reuben Holden, *Yale in China: The Mainland 1901–1951,* lists all Americans connected with the college and some Chinese faculty members but has no data on the Chinese teachers and student body. In the exemplary 6-volume history of Methodist missions, Wade Crawford Barclay, *The Methodist Episcopal Church 1845–1939,* Vol. 3, *Widening*

Horizons 1845–95 (pages 365–448 on China), reports with appreciation the names of outstanding Chinese Christians but without characters or biographic data by which they could be traced.

18. Arthur F. Wright analyzed and illustrated the translation/transliteration problem 30 years ago in "The Chinese Language and Foreign Ideas." No one seems to have gone much further.
19. See Bays's article cited in note 13 above.
20. See Chapter 3 below on Liang Fa and his *Good Words.*
21. W. H. Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects With Especial Reference to the Spread of the Gospel, Containing Allusions to the Antiquity, Extent, Population, Civilization, Literature, and Religion of the Chinese.*

Chapter 2. Christian Tracts: The Two Friends, *by Daniel H. Bays*

I wish to thank the General Research Fund of the University of Kansas for supporting my research on this topic.

1. For a listing of both religious and secular missionary writings in Chinese through 1866, see Wylie. For the number of Protestant missionaries, see Latourette, pp. 405–406.
2. *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries to China,* 1877, p. 206.
3. Ibid., p. 221.
4. From statistics derived from a survey of ABCFM, *Annual Report,* 1858–1898; Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (USA), *Annual Report,* 1862–1900; Donald MacGillivray, ed., *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807–1907),* pp. 618, 622.
5. For example, totals of scripture distribution by the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Scotch Bible Society, and the American. 1886: 1,019 complete Bibles; 14,256 New Testaments; 493,678 scripture portions. 1887: 727 Bibles; 9,639 testaments; 581,561 portions, *CR* 19.4:191 (1888).
6. See the mission society annual reports in note 4 above.
7. On the difficulties encountered in distributing scriptures alone and the need for some sort of explanatory tracts, see David Hill to Home Secretary, 14 January 1871, in WMMS archives, Central China file. Also 21 January 1880, and 3 March 1883. Hill discusses his own and Timothy Richard's views as of 1879 on the need for a special, more sophisticated tract ministry to the upper classes, in his journal, section "How to influence a province," WMMS archives. Also Griffith John's report of 3 January 1883, in LMS archives, *Annual Reports,* Central China, where he says that, as a matter of policy, they no longer distribute any scriptures without explanatory tracts.
8. *Pi-hsieh chi-shih,* chüan *chung,* pp. 14–29b. John's work was *T'ien-lu chih-ming,* published in Hankow, 1862 (Wylie, p. 238). The response to John's tract is in 14–24b; much of this section of the work is translated in Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860–1870,* pp. 52–54. The short riposte to *The Two Friends* is found on pp. 24b–25. The other two tracts criticized were *Yeh-su chiao lueh,* written by

Walter Medhurst in 1846 and revised by Joseph Edkins in Shanghai, 1858 (Wylie, pp. 33, 188); and *Hsun-tzu wen-ta,* also attributed by Wylie (p. 238) to Griffith John and said to have been published in Shanghai in 1864. However, the *Pi-hsieh chi-shih* says this tract was written by one Shen Tzu-hsing (p. 28b), which is not John's Chinese name; moreover, an 1864 publication date would put it later than the *Pi-hsieh chi-shih,* which was compiled in 1861 and 1862.

9. The Central China Religious Tract Society itself claimed in 1892 that the Hunan anti-Christian literature of the early 1890s was mainly a reaction to its own work; *CR* 23.3:129–130 (1892). And Charlton M. Lewis, *Prologue to the Chinese Revolution: The Transformation of Ideas and Institutions in Hunan Province, 1891–1907,* in discussing the background of the Yangtze Valley riots of 1891, says that this flood of Christian literature "more than any other single factor" stimulated that hostility (p. 20).
10. Wuchang Minutes, 9–14 December 1885, WMMS, notes that 10,000 Gospels and 10,000 copies of a tract by W.A.P. Martin were presented to the candidates in1885. David Hill noted in 1888 that they had also previously given away one of John's tracts at the provincial examination, and this year planned to distribute portions of a recent work by Ernst Faber comparing Chinese and Christian civilization. Hill stated that all this effort among the examination candidates had shown little result thus far. Letter to *CR* 19.6:282–283 (1888).
11. But sometimes the materials bore fruit among the examination candidates. We need only remember that this was how Hung Hsiu-ch'üan received Liang Fa's tracts in the 1830s. Chi-yun Chen argues that the first important information on the West that K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao imbibed was from tracts given out at the examinations. This began working a transformation in K'ang's reform outlook, in particular, from the early 1880s on; Chi-yun Chen, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's 'Missionary Education': A Case Study of Missionary Influence on the Reformers," *Papers on China* 16:71–72, 75 (1962).
12. For a brief biography and a list of his publications, see Wylie, pp. 12–21. For his activities, see William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China,* and Robert Philip, *The Life and Opinions of the Rev. William Milne, D.D., Missionary to China.*
13. It was reprinted there in 1831 and again in Singapore in 1836, both editions in 42 leaves. Several reprints were published in the 1840s at Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Ningpo. At least 3 minor revisions were undertaken in the 1850s, one in 1851 by Milne's son, William Charles, and another in which the Rev. Joseph Edkins seems to have been the first to make any substantial additions to the original, in the form of a final chapter that resolved the uncertainty Milne himself had left as to the final religious state of the non-Christian spokesman in the tract. Dr. Andrew Happer published a partial translation into the Cantonese dialect in 1862, and an abridgment in the Foochow colloquial was published there in 1871; Wylie, pp. 16–17, 145, 173–174. The Rev. Henry Blodget made another revision, published in 62 pages in Peking in 1875, in which he, like Edkins before him in the 1850s, provided a

happy ending to the tale; this was also the first edition fully in the Mandarin vernacular, as far as I can tell. The Hankow Tract Society published yet another "carefully revised edition" of 48 pages in 1880, which I have not seen; *CR* 12.2:102 (1881). The most recent revision (or perhaps reprint) of which I am aware is one published in 1906, printed in Shanghai and distributed in North China in 20 double leaves. This edition limits itself to Milne's original content, forgoing the sort of endings tacked on by Edkins and Blodget.

The ABCFM collection at the Harvard-Yenching Library contains the following editions of *The Two Friends,* all but two under the title *Chang Yuan liang-yu hsiang-lun:* an 1836 Singapore reprint of the original; an 1844 reprint, n.p.; an 1849 Foochow reprint; an 1854 Amoy edition, itself a reprint of an 1851 revision; an 1857 Ningpo reprint of the original; an 1871 Foochow abridged version in the local vernacular; the 1875 Peking revision in the vernacular; and a 1906 Shanghai edition.

14. There may well have been more. Our sources for editions post 1866 (where Wylie's survey ends) are scattered and unsystematic, witness those editions of 1871, 1875 and 1906, which would be unknown to me but for their appearance in the American Board collection. For this essay, I used the 1836 Singapore edition, the 1854 Amoy edition (a reprint of the 1851 revision by William Milne's son, W. C. Milne), and the 1875 and 1906 editions mentioned above, all in the ABCFM collection. It is difficult to determine a precise circulation figure. In a notice of the appearance of a reprint in *The Chinese Repository* (Canton) in 1833, E.C. Bridgman wrote of the tract: "It is probably, the most popular tract that has yet been published by Protestant missionaries in the Chinese language; and the number of copies circulated [throughout Southeast Asia, as well as on the China coast] cannot, we suppose, be less than 50,000"; *Ch. Repos.* 2:283 (1833). I have found no exact publication figures for any editions of *The Two Friends.* When the Hankow Tract Society produced its own revision in 1880 and its appearance was noted in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1881, the journal's editors added the opinion that "a greater number of copies of this tract have been issued than of any other in the language," and that, since its initial appearance in 1819, it has "continued in circulation with an ever-increasing enlargement"; *CR* 12.2:142 (1881). The ABCFM annual report for 1886 (p. 76) noted that, on a single itineration from the main station in Shansi province, a total of over 1,300 items of all sorts were sold, among them 97 copies of *The Two Friends.* In the nationwide mission survey volume published in 1907, it was claimed in a short biography of William Milne that his tract had been the most widely used of those written in Chinese, and that it was still the most popular of the early twentieth century; MacGillivray, p. 666. By this time, annual distribution of religious tracts was approaching 4 million.

15. The original edition, and later minor revisions of it, contained about 12,660 characters. The 1854 revised edition was more concise (and therefore more literary in style); it has only 11,300 characters. Blodget's 1875 version has 15,400 characters in the sections corresponding to the original (with the added final chapter, not in Milne's work, the

1875 edition has over 17,000 characters). The 1906 edition reverted to an easy *wen-li* style, with about 12,900 characters. Milne's original tract was divided into 12 parts or chapters; the other editions ranged from 10 to 13. These differences seem simply to represent editors' arbitrary divisions of the same content.

16. In the ABCFM collection at Harvard-Yenching are several catechisms or *wen-ta* tracts, at least two translations of English tracts ("Peep of Day" and "Henry and his Bearer"), and a French Tract ("The Swiss Watchmaker").
17. In the discussion of present versus former beliefs, the terms *hsieh* (heterodox) and *chia* (false) are often used to designate former beliefs, while the terms *cheng* (orthodox) and *chen* (true) are applied to Christianity.
18. There is an evolution in the list of acceptable alternative names for God from the early to the later nineteenth-century versions. The original edition of 1819 (1836) uses *chen-shen* or *shen-chu;* it lists as alternatives *shen, chu,* and a few others. The 1854 and 1906 editions are fairly consistent in using *shang-ti* as the term for God, but, at this point in the tract, list as acceptable *t'ien-chu* and several other terms. The 1875 edition itself uses *chen-shen,* or more commonly *t'ien-chu;* in its list of acceptable alternatives it does not include *shang-ti.* On how best to translate "God" into Chinese see Douglas G. Spelman, "Christianity in Chinese: The Protestant Term Question," *Papers on China* 22A:25–52 (1969). During the late nineteenth century, a general division between Catholics' use of the term *t'ien-chu* and Protestants' use of *shen* or *shang-ti* was developing, but the 1875 edition's continued use of *t'ien-chu* was not yet out of place in a Protestant tract, because the first Mandarin translation of the Bible, which was the product of the labor of several Protestant missionary scholars and appeared in the late 1860s, still used the term *t'ien-chu* throughout. *Records of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries of China, 1890,* p. 56.
19. This is in part 3, 1836 and 1875, and part 2, 1854 and 1906.
20. Different terms here are as follows: 1854, *tsai-t'ien chih shih* and *tsai-ti chih shih;* 1875, *t'ien-kuo ti hao-ch'u* and *shih-shang ti hao-ch'u;* 1906, *t'ien-shang ti shih* and *ti-shang ti shih.*
21. This is to be found in part 4, 1836 and 1875, and part 3, 1854 and 1906.
22. The conversation of this night is in part 5, 1836 and 1875, and part 4, 1854 and 1906.
23. This topic occupies parts 6–7, 1836 and 1875, and 5–6, 1854 and 1906. Indeed, Milne and his revisers give this single element of Christian theology something over 10% of the entire tract and return to the subject of what happens at the final resurrection and universal judgment twice more in later sections.
24. This prayer is at the end of part 9, 1836 and 1875, or part 8, 1854 and 1906.
25. The end of part 10, 1836 and 1875 (part 9, 1854 and 1906).
26. The concept that sin and repentance are attitudinal as well as behavioral—i.e., that state of mind as well as conduct is important both in sinning and in penitence—seems to have been a crucial one in demarcating

Christian ideas from traditional Chinese religious notions on the subject.

27. The 1854 and 1906 editions add one more short sentence by Chang. He tells Yuan that Jesus said that God did not send Him into the world to condemn the world, but to save the world, and again urges Yuan to believe.
28. 1875 edition, p. 62. After listening to Yuan's story of his salvation experience, Chang says to him, "You must [now] be constantly careful, and not deceive yourself, or I'm afraid you will again be led astray, and the Holy Spirit will leave you. You must not rely on your own strength, but ask for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and you must pray earnestly, not being negligent [of prayer]. This way you will certainly receive salvation." This is the whole of his remarks to Yuan before the two men congratulate each other and part.
29. Of course, it should be remembered that, when Milne first wrote the tract, open meetings of groups of Christians were still illegal in China proper.
30. 1906 edition, p. 7.
31. For an excellent discussion of some of these key "loaded" terms, see Lü Shih-ch'iang, *Chung-kuo kuan-shen fan-chiao ti yuan-yin, 1860–1874,* especially pp. 26–36, 132–50, 171–74; and Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity,* pp. 3–60.
32. For further discussion of this point, see Chapter 8.
33. See, for example, Blodget's *Chen-li wen-ta,* which begins with denunciations of idolatry; also Divie Bethune McCartee, *Sheng-chiao li-yen,* and Justus Doolittle, *Ye-su chiao hsiao-yin,* both of which begin with statements that, although missionaries have come and preached for years, the Chinese are still regrettably ignorant of Christianity. I have not seen any of Griffith John's numerous tracts, but, if the phrases quoted from one of his works by an anti-Christian work of the 1860s are accurate and characteristic, the term *pugnacious* would certainly apply to his writings as well as to the strong personality of John which emerges from the LMS records of the late nineteenth century I have read. These phrases, ending with "hence you Chinese, according to the laws of God, are all truly sinful," are translated in Cohen, *China and Christianity,* p. 54.

Chapter 3. Liang Fa's Quest for Moral Power, by P. Richard Bohr

1. Nearly all the early-nineteenth-century Chinese converts who left confessional statements had, like Liang, at least a few years of literary training. They wrote about experiencing guilt over moral lapses and interpersonal difficulties stemming from their failure to uphold the "five relationships." One convert in particular regretted his inability to return the "kindness of my parents, my relations, my friends" (quoted in Philip, p. 159). For accounts of the conversion experiences of these early Chinese Protestants, see Jen (Chien) Yu-wen, *Chung-kuo Chi-tu-chiao ti k'ai-shan shih-yeh,* pp. 15–18; Milne, *Retrospect,* pp. 125–126; and Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects,* pp. 294–295.
2. For a biography of Liang, see George Hunter McNeur, *China's First*

Preacher: Liang A-fa, tr. and rev. as Mai Chan-ssu, *Liang Fa chuan;* P'eng Tse-i, *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ko-ming ssu-ch'ao,* pp. 3–6; and Jen, *K'ai-shan,* pp. 19–26.

3. Quoted in Milne, *Retrospect,* p. 178.
4. Sakai Tadao, *Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū.* See also his "Confucianism and Popular Chinese Educational Works," p. 361.
5. Wolfram Eberhard, *Guilt and Sin in Traditional China.*
6. Liang A-fa, *Ch'uan-shih liang-yen* (hereafter cited as *Good Words*), in Mai Chan-ssu, *Liang Fa chuan,* Appendix, p. 83.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 84.
9. Lindsay Ride, *Robert Morrison: The Scholar and the Man,* p. 2.
10. Quoted in Philip, p. 6. For further biographical details on Milne, see John Kesson, *The Cross and the Dragon: With Notes of the Christian Missions and Missionaries, and Some Account of Chinese Secret Societies,* pp. 214–215; and *Ch. Repos.* 1.8:316–325 (December 1932).
11. Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society,* I, 3–73.
12. For an outline of Morrison's writings, see *Ch. Repos.* 16.8:375–376 (August 1847); Ride, p. 7; and Wylie, pp. 13–20.
13. For an outline of Milne's writings, see *Ch. Repos.* 16.8:377–382 (August 1847); Wylie, pp. 13–20; and Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects,* pp. 576–578.
14. *Good Words,* pp. 17–18, 35, 64, 117.
15. Philip, p. 225.
16. Of Liang's total literary output, the contents of only a few tracts are known. In 1819, Liang published at Canton *Chiu-shih lu-ts'o yao-lueh chieh.* Sometime between 1823 and 1826, he wrote a commentary on Paul's letter to the Hebrews and in 1827 published a paraphrase version of Romans. In 1828, Morrison reported to the London Missionary Society that Liang had written and distributed about 12 small tracts, among which was *Shu-hsueh sheng-li lueh-lun* (Perfect acquaintance with holy doctrine), a 9-page account of the author's conversion experience and a catechism for children which he used in the Christian "charity school" he established briefly in Kao-ming hsien. About this time, too, Liang published three pamphlets: *Chen-tao hsun-yuan* (The essence of doctrine), *Ling-hun p'ien* (On the soul), and *I-tuan lun* (On heterodoxy). In 1829, he produced a commentary on the Ten Commandments entitled *Chen-tao wen-ta ch'ien-chieh* (A catechism on the true way). In 1831, he compiled a 3-volume translation of scripture lessons for youth. In 1833, Liang brought out two collections of prayers that he himself had composed and hymns translated by Morrison. In 1835, he collaborated with the ABCFM missionary Ira Tracy in writing the first Protestant anti-opium tract. For a list of Liang's known publications, see Wylie, pp. 23–25, and McNeur, pp. 33–51.
17. *Good Words,* p. 40. See ibid., p. 3, for Liang's reference to the Chinese morality books. For a discussion of the popular religious exhortational literature Liang tried to imitate, see Joseph Edkins, "The Books of the Modern Religious Sects in North China," *CR* 19:261–268, 301–310 (June 1888); Wolfram Eberhard, "Religious Activities

and Religious Books in Modern China," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 4:260–269 (1965); and *The Kan Ying Pien. Book of Rewards and Punishments,* tr. James Webster, p. 1.

18. Kuhn, "Origins of the Taiping Vision."
19. *Good Words,* pp. 7, 12, 13, 39, 41, 52, 111, 124, 128, 146.
20. Ibid., pp. 4, 34, 114, 126.
21. Ibid., pp. 16, 24, 56, 82, 112, 116, 120–121, 138.
22. Ibid., p. 116.
23. Ibid., p. 64.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 40.
26. Ibid., p. 116.
27. Ibid., p. 118.
28. Ibid., pp. 3–4.
29. Ibid., p. 4. Sometime in the early 1830s, Liang is reported to have denounced Buddhism as follows: "The Buddhist priests deceive people in many ways. . . . Not only are the priests today unable to enter Heaven, but even Buddha himself was a great sinner. Not to mention any other sin he was unwilling to reverently recognize God. For that sin of rebellion he deserves eternal punishment. . . . Let me ask whether sitting in abstract meditation benefits Buddha or any other person? How can anyone, even if sinless himself, by entering the Buddhist religion and doing nothing all day but recite prayers and meditate, benefiting nobody, remove the anger of the gods, [secure] release from sin, and by his merit ascend to Heaven and enjoy eternal bliss? . . . The tricks of these Buddhists and their sacred books are used to cheat people out of their money in order that the priests themselves may sit in laziness and enjoyment." (Quoted in McNeur, 64–65.)
30. *Good Words,* p. 4. Regarding the Buddhists' attitudes toward social welfare, Holmes Welch claims that he had "yet to learn of a single school, orphanage, or clinic operated by the sangha before 1900" (*The Buddhist Revival in China,* p. 237). Welch attributes the Buddhists' lack of social commitment to their belief that social action did not contribute to self-salvation, which they regarded as life's primary aim (ibid., pp. 121–126). C. K. Yang has commented that the sangha was too preoccupied with its own survival in the midst of weak organizational and financial resources to have had time or energy for social welfare activities (*Religion in Chinese Society,* pp. 336–338). For a description of the demoralized state of the sangha in nineteenth-century Kwangtung, see Wolfram Eberhard, "Temple Building Activities in Medieval and Modern China," *Monumenta Serica* 23:298 (1964).
31. *Good Words,* pp. 11, 79.
32. Liang wrote that "men and women are all God's sons and daughters [and anyone who] worships God the Father must recognize no class distinctions among God's followers" (ibid., p. 39). He also claimed that "there is no distinction between noble and mean, honorable and humble; the only distinction is between the good and the evil, the sincere and the insincere of heart" (ibid., p. 39). See also ibid., pp. 75–113.
33. Ibid., pp. 12–13, 21, 77, 135–136. In *Chen-tao,* 3b–5b (published in

1829), Liang enumerated the full Ten Commandments. It is therefore ironic that he presented only a partial explanation of the Decalogue in *Good Words,* which appeared three years later.
34. *Good Words,* pp. 77, 81, 91.
35. Ibid., p. 122.
36. Ibid., p. 52, 109.
37. Ephesians 6:2 in ibid., p. 135. See also ibid., pp. 140–145.
38. Ibid., p. 102.
39. Ibid., p. 116.
40. Ibid., p. 77.
41. Colossians 3:18, 20, 22 in ibid., pp. 141–144.
42. Ibid., p. 105.
43. Ibid., pp. 21–25, 30–33, 69–70, 16–21.
44. Ibid., p. 76, 87, 115, 136, 140.
45. Ibid., pp. 21, 59–61, 60, 77–78, 94.
46. Ibid., pp. 8, 34, 40.
47. Ibid., pp. 40–41.
48. Ibid., pp. 100–101.
49. Ibid., pp. 37, 104, 141–142.
50. Ibid., p. 105.
51. Welch, *Buddhist Revival,* pp. 121–123.

Chapter 4. W. H. Medhurst: Rewriting the Missionary Message, by Jane Kate Leonard

1. The London Missionary Society (LMS) Archives are presently held at the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. For an account of the LMS, see Charles S. Horne, *The Story of the London Missionary Society, 1795–1895,* pp. 1–22, 119–145. On the early Protestant missionary movement, see not only Latourette, but also MacGillivray.
2. Walter H. Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects,* pp. 73–75, 230–236, 248–249, 291–292.
3. See LMS, *Annual reports,* May 1819, pp. 30–33; the success of the Malacca mission was especially great. Medhurst reviewed its accomplishments in *China,* pp. 249–265. The Batavia mission is described in pp. 266–290.
4. Medhurst, *China,* pp. 251–252.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 263–264; LMS, Incoming from Penang, 15 February 1819.
7. Medhurst, *China,* pp. 260–278; LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 30 May 1823,
8. Medhurst, *China,* p. 241.
9. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 3 June 1825; 20 May 1826; 15 January 1827.
10. Ibid., 1 September 1824; *China,* p. 285.
11. Medhurst, *China,* pp. 324–326.
12. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 8 September 1824.
13. Medhurst, *China,* p. 288.
14. Ibid., p. 282.

15. LMS Archives, 1 September 1824; Medhurst, *China,* p. 275.
16. Medhurst, *China,* p. 375.
17. Ibid., pp. 69, 104–105.
18. LMS Archives, Incoming from Penang, 9 October 1820.
19. Jane Kate Leonard, "Evangelizing in the *Nan-yang:* Walter Medhurst in Java, 1821–33."
20. Medhurst, *China,* pp. 253–254.
21. Ibid., pp. 263–264; LMS Archives, Incoming from Penang, 22 November 1820.
22. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 23 August 1823; 1 September 1824.
23. Medhurst, *China,* p. 269.
24. The journals for the tours are in LMS Archives, Journals, Box 1, 1813–1841, Incoming from Ultra-Ganges Mission, Medhurst: 1825, 1826, 1828, 1829, 1830. Some of them were published in the *Quarterly Chronicle* of the London Missionary Society. See LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 8 September 1825. Also D. Tyerman and G. Bennett, *Voyages and Travels Round the World for the London Missionary Society,* comp. J. Montgomery, pp. 197–210. On Bali, see Walter H. Medhurst, *Journal of a Tour Along the Coast of Java, 1829,* pp. 1–40; LMS Archives, Pamphlet Vol. 11: N, 6; Incoming from Batavia, 1 February 1830. On Malaya and Borneo, see *China,* pp. 279–287; also *Quarterly Chronicle,* January and April 1830. On the sailing vessel, LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 22 October 1822.
25. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 3 June 1825.
26. Ibid., 1 September 1824.
27. Medhurst, *China,* pp. 80–86, 272–274, 296–306. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 4 January 1825; 9 November 1825; 5 September 1827. See also his pamphlet "Remarks on the Opium Trade," 27 October 1855; LMS Archives, Pamphlet Vol. 37: 0, 1.
28. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 1 September 1824.
29. Medhurst, *China,* pp. 177–178.
30. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 1 September 1824.
31. Medhurst, *China,* p. 269.
32. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 1 September 1824. See E. Rawski's account in Chapter 9 below.
33. Medhurst, *China,* p. 278.
34. *T'e-hsuan ts'o yao mei-yueh chi-chuan,* 4 vols.
35. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 1 January 1824; 1 September 1824; 4 January 1825; 20 May 1826.
36. Shang Te-che (Walter Henry Medhurst), *Chiao-liu-pa tsung-lun,* 81 leaves, 1 case. Hereafter cited as *CLPTL.*
37. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 30 May 1823; 23 August 1823; 1 September 1824.
38. *CLPTL,* pp. 58–60b.
39. Ibid., pp. 13–33b, 42–57b.
40. Ibid., pp. 34–41b.
41. Ibid., pp. 58–81b.
42. Ibid., p. 58.
43. Ibid., pp. 1a–b.
44. Ibid., pp. 1b–2.

45. Wang Ta-hai, *The Chinaman Abroad: An Account of the Malayan Archipelago,* tr. Walter H. Medhurst. It was published under the title *Desultory Account of the Malayan Archipelago* in Shanghai in 1849. The original text is Wang Ta-hai, *Hai-tao i-chih,* 6 *chüan,* and is found in the *Hsiao-fang-hu chai yü-ti ts'ung-ch'ao,* comp. Wang Hsi-ch'i, *ts'e* 54, *chih* 10, pp. 479–489.
46. LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 27 October 1834. His views are also contained in a pamphlet, "Memorial Addressed to the British and Foreign Bible Society on a New Version of the Chinese Scriptures," 28 October 1836, pp. 1–17.
47. Medhurst published *China: Its State and Prospects* for Western readers in 1838. Leonard, "Evangelizing in the *Nan-yang,*" 17a–18.

Chapter 5. Karl F. A. Gützlaff: Missionary Entrepreneur, by Jessie G. Lutz

1. Gützlaff published accounts of his trips along the coast of China in *Ch. Repos.,* Vols. 1 and 2 (1832, 1833); he later issued his journals in book form: *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, and 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea and the Loc-choo Islands.* German, Dutch, and French editions also came out.
2. "Literary Notices," *Ch. Repos.* 2:186–187 (August 1833). Gützlaff made similar remarks in several of his English-language works; see "Remarks on the History of China," *Ch. Repos.* 2:119, 127 (July 1833).
3. *Ku-chin wan-kuo kang-chien,* pp. 65–66b; hereafter cited as *Ku-chin wan-kuo.*
4. "Mou-i" (Trade), *Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao mei-yueh t'ung-chi-chuan* 1:8–11 (1838). Hereafter cited as *THYK.*
5. The biographical information on Gützlaff is drawn primarily from Herman Schlyter, *Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China* and Suzanne W. Barnett, "Practical Evangelism: Protestant Missions and the Introduction of Western Civilization into China, 1820–1850," pp. 82–104.
6. Gützlaff often emphasized the size of China's population, using such phrases as "teeming millions" or "one-third of the human race"; see *A Sketch of Chinese History Ancient and Modern,* I, 63; Typographus Sinensis (pseud.), "Estimate of the Proportionate Expense of Xylography, Lithography, and Typography as Applied to Chinese Printing," *Ch. Repos.* 3:250–252 (October, 1834).
7. George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China,* p. 64.
8. *China Opened, or, a Display of the Topography, History, Customs, Manners, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, Literature, Religion, Jurisprudence, etc. of the Chinese Empire.*
9. Schlyter, p. 94; Latourette, p. 223.
10. See Medhurst's *China: Its State and Prospects,* pp. 292–295; also LMS Archives, Incoming from Batavia, 24 December 1833; 2 December 1835; 19 February and 28 October 1842.
11. The *THYK* also contained translations of Chinese imperial edicts and news items; see, for example, "Hsin-wen" (News), 1834.4:52 which reports the death of Lord Napier and "Hsin-wen," 1835.4:14–15; 5:12–

13; 6:14–15 which reprint some of the Ch'ing edicts outlawing opium. For an analysis of many of these works, see Suzanne Barnett, pp. 176–206; for data on publication, etc., see footnotes in Barnett's work, pp. 362–369. A useful analysis of the *THYK* is Ts'ai Wu, "T'an-t'an 'Tung-Hsi-yang k'ao mei-yueh t'ung-chi-chuan'" (Discussion of the East-West monthly magazine), *Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an* (Bulletin of the National Central Library), new ser. 2.4:23–46 (April 1969). I have benefited greatly from these discussions.

12. See Schlyter, pp. 157–264, on the China Union.
13. Philosinensis (pseud.), "Remarks Concerning the Conversion of the Chinese," *Ch. Repos.* 2:565–576 (April 1834); Philosinensis, "Christian Missions in China: Remarks on Means and Measures," *Ch. Repos.* 3:559–564 (April 1835); Gützlaff, *Ta-Ying-kuo t'ung-chih,* II, 2b. The pagination is not consistent; the first three chapters start with page 1 but thereafter the pagination is continuous; Roman numerals will therefore be employed to indicate chapters.
14. J. Tomlin, *Missionary Journals and Letters,* pp. 108–109.
15. Ibid., p. 28. Also quoted in Suzanne Barnett, p. 97.
16. G. Smith, pp. 64–66.
17. Philosinensis, "Christian Missions in China," *Ch. Repos.* 3:546–565. The first and second annual reports of the Morrison Education Society mention support for a school operated by Gützlaff and his wife, *Ch. Repos.* 6:231–232 (September 1837); 7:306–307 (October 1838). Yung Wing was a pupil at a Gützlaff school; see his *My Life in China and America,* pp. 3–8.
18. Philosinensis, "Christian Missions in China," *Ch. Repos.* 3:565.
19. Though Gützlaff had traveled on opium clippers when dispensing religious tracts, he often wrote condemning opium smoking, and one of his medicines was an emetic mixed with opium to help break the habit.
20. Typographus Sinensis, "Estimate of Expense of Xylography," *Ch. Repos.* 3:246–252.
21. D. MacGillivray, p. 492; Latourette, p. 255; Schlyter, pp. 225–245; John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, *Protestant Christianity Interpreted through its Development,* pp. 164, 171–176. The Gützlaff Association in London in 1853 sent out Hudson Taylor, who founded the China Inland Mission in 1866.
22. Philosinensis, "Christian Missions in China," *Ch. Repos.* 3:568.
23. Ibid., p. 560; Schlyter, p. 104; Latourette, p. 253; Philosinensis, "The Diffusion of Knowledge in China," *Ch. Repos.* 2:508–509 (March 1834). For more on these activities, see Chapter 6 below.
24. "Ying-chi-li kuo-cheng kung-hui" (The English parliament), *THYK* 1838.4:63b.
25. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* III, 5.
26. Ibid., I, 3a–b; II, 1, 4b.
27. Philosinensis, "Remarks Concerning the Conversion of the Chinese," *Ch. Repos* 2:566–567 (April 1834); Philosinensis, "Christian Missions in China," *Ch. Repos.* 3:562–563.
28. Letter of Gützlaff, 14 July 1828, in Tomlin, p. 218; also, pp. 149–150, 188–189, 219, 329.
29. Letter of Gützlaff, in Tomlin, 26 June 1829, p. 215.
30. See, for example, the discussion of Gützlaff's sources for his Chinese

history in a letter to the editor by Thomas Fisher, *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* 17:207–210 (1835). Also a review of *China Opened* in *Ch. Repos.* 8:84–98 (June 1839).

31. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* III, 9–13a; "Ta-Ying pai Shang-ti chih t'ang" (Great Britain's halls for the worship of Shang-ti), *THYK* 1837.9:124–125b.
32. Suzanne Barnett, pp. 99–101. See also the review of Gützlaff's *Journal* in *Ch. Repos.* 3:406–416 (January 1835). Hosea B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* I, 694, says that *A Sketch of Chinese History* and *China Opened* contain much valuable information but require checking for accuracy. S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom,* also uses Gützlaff as a source.
33. Suzanne W. Barnett, "Wei Yüan and Westerners: Notes on the Sources of *Hai-kuo t'u chih,*" *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 2:1–20 (November 1970); Fred W. Drake, *China Charts the World: Hsu Chi-yü and His Geography of 1848,* pp. 53, 96, 146. Even in cases where Gützlaff is not cited, the selections are close enough to the original to be recognizable.
34. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 1–4a; "Ying-chi-li kung-hui," *THYK* 1838.4:63–65; 5; 81–83. In his *Journal* (p. 440), Gützlaff had remarked on the effectiveness of a pamphlet by William Milne using the dialogue approach.
35. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 4a; III, 7–8b.
36. "Literary Notices," *Ch. Repos.* 2:186–187 (August 1833); *THYK* 1883.6:2b–3. Suzanne Barnett, pp. 179–180, also notes the difference.
37. The first chapter is simply entitled "Old Testament."
38. *Ku-chin wan-kuo,* 52b–53b. Wycliffe is not mentioned by name, but the reference is clear.
39. Ibid., pp. 55b–56b, 59–60b.
40. Ibid., pp. 64–65b.
41. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 4a–b.
42. Ibid., II, 1b–4a.
43. Ibid., I, 5a: III, 2–3a; IV, 14b–15a; "Ta-Ying pai Shang-ti," *THYK* 1837.9:124–125b.
44. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* II, 6a–b.
45. Ibid., IV, 16; also, "Lan-tun ching-tu" (London, the capital), *THYK* 1838.4:69–71.
46. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* IV, 14a; V, 18b–21b.
47. "Lun Ou-lo-pa shih-ch'ing" (Discussing European affairs), *THYK* 1835.5:1–4; "Mou-i," ibid., 1838.1:8–11.
48. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 6b–7a.
49. Ibid.,; "Ying-chi-li kung-hui," *THYK* 1838.4:64b.
50. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 4b. I have used the translation given in Clae Waltham, ed., *Shu Ching. Book of History. A Modernized Edition of the Translation of James Legge,* p. 114. There is doubt about the authenticity of the document. Gützlaff, as is frequently the case, does not identify the quotation.
51. "Lan-tun ching-tu," *THYK* 1838.4:69a.
52. "Ying-chi-li kung-hui," ibid., 1838.4:65a–b.
53. "Lun Kuan Tzu chih shu" (Discussion of the Book of Kuan-tzu), ibid., 1837.9:116–117; "Mou-i," ibid., 1838.1:8–9.
54. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* II, 1b–2a, 4a; III, 3b–4a; "Ying-chi-li kung-hui pien-lun" (English parliamentary debates), *THYK,* 1837.11:157–158.
55. Gützlaff stated that one needed to know Chinese history in order to

understand her longevity as well as her exclusiveness; see "Character of Chinese Historical Works," *Ch. Repos.* 3:54 (June 1834).
56. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 4b5, 7a; "Ying-chi-li kung-hui," *THYK* 1838.4:64b–65a.
57. Ibid.; also the continuation of the article in 1838.5:81–83.
58. Ibid.; "Tzu-chu chih-li" (Individual rights), *THYK* 1838.3:42–44b; *Ta-Ying-kuo,* II, 5a–b.
59. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 4b.
60. Gützlaff insists on the right of international relations with great frequency and offers numerous justifications. See ibid., V, 22; *A Sketch of Chinese History,* II, 291; "Journal," *Ch. Repos.* 1:61–62 (June 1832); "T'ung-shang" (Commerce), *THYK,* 1837.12:160–162; "Mou-i," ibid., 1838.1:8–11.
61. *A Sketch of Chinese History,* I, 182–183.
62. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* III, 8–9a.
63. "Ying-chi-li kung-hui," *THYK,* 1838.4:64a–b.
64. *Ku-chin wan-kuo,* pp. 60b–61b; *Ta-Ying-kuo,* IV, 17; "Lan-tun ching-tu," *THYK,* 1838.4:69–70b.
65. *Ta-Ying-kuo,* I, 2.
66. *A Sketch of Chinese History,* II, 381–382.
67. "Character of Chinese Historical Works," *Ch. Repos.* 3:55.
68. "Remarks on the History and Chronology of China," *Ch. Repos.* 2:78–80 (June 1833); *Ku-chin wan-kuo,* Chapters 1, 2.
69. *A Sketch of Chinese History,* II, 380, 386–387; "Remarks on the History and Chronology of China."
70. *Ku-chin wan-kuo,* pp. 53–54b.
71. Ibid., pp. 61b–62a.
72. "Remarks on the History and Chronology of China," *Ch. Repos.* 2:123; *Journal,* pp. 318–321.

Chapter 6. Protestant Geography in China: E. C. Bridgman's Portrayal of the West, by Fred W. Drake

1. See Fred W. Drake, *China Charts the World.*
2. Belchertown Historical Association (BHA), Bridgman letters (12/23/1829). *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* (Boston, 1808–1817; later, *Panoplist and Missionary Herald,* 1818–1820; *The Missionary Herald,* 1821–1860). *The Boston Recorder* (Boston, 1816–1849).
3. BHA, Letters, Andover (7/7/27).
4. BHA, Humphrey sermon (10/6/29).
5. BHA, Coleman sermon (10/6/29).
6. BHA, Letters, *Roman* (12/12/29; 12/23/29).
7. BHA, Letters, Canton (6/17/30).
8. Eliza G. Bridgman, ed., *The Life and Labors of Elijah Coleman Bridgman,* pp. 20–21, 105, 109. *Ch. Repos.* 1:5 (1832).
9. BHA, Letters, Canton (12/28/30).
10. *Ch. Repos.* 3:380 (1834); ABCFM, South China Mission, I, #14 (9/7/36).
11. *Ch. Repos.* 3:382 (1834).
12. Ibid., 7:405 (1838).

13. Ibid., 7:405 (1838).
14. Ibid., 2:187 (1833).
15. *THYK* 6 (1833) to 5 (1834). See above, Chapter 5, p. 75 et passim on Gützlaff's world history.
16. *THYK* 1:4a–b (1837).
17. *THYK* 2:8–9b (1837).
18. *THYK* 9:116–117 (1837).
19. *THYK* 12:160–162 (1837).
20. *THYK* 6:12b–13b (1837).
21. *THYK* 6:13b (1837).
22. *THYK* 6:13b (1837). The Society proposed an examination of Chinese literature to ascertain where gaps existed in Chinese knowledge for the purpose of devising a remedial program. See *Ch. Repos.* 6:335–338 (1837).
23. *THYK* 8:20–21b, 9:36–38b, 41a–b, 10:48–50b, 11:64, 69b, 12:76–78 (1833); *THYK* 5:8a–b, 6:5–7 (1835).
24. *THYK* 11:157–158 (1837), 4:63–65b (1838), 5:81–83 (1838), 7:1–3 (1838); *THYK* 12:79a–b (1833), 10:142a–b (1837); *THYK* 10:130–131b (1837), 11:154–155b (1837); *THYK* 5:3 (1837), 1:17–18b (1838).
25. *THYK* 5:60–62 (1835), 4:15b–16 (1837), 6:7a–b (1837); *THYK* 3:11 (1837).
26. *THYK* 8:22 (1833).
27. *THYK* 12:82a–b (1833).
28. *THYK* 11:62a–b (1833), 3:38 (1834).
29. *THYK* 4:14–15, 5:12–13, 6:14–15 (1837); *THYK* 6:14 (1835), 8:8b–11b (1838).
30. *THYK* 6, 12 (1833).
31. *THYK* 2:1–2 (1837).
32. *THYK* 3:10b–11b (1837).
33. *THYK* 8:113 (1837).
34. *THYK* 3:54a–b (1838).
35. *Ch. Repos.* 2:186 (1833).
36. Ibid. 3:185 (1834).
37. Ibid. 2:186 (1833), 3:185 (1834), 3:382 (1834).
38. ABCFM, South China Mission, I, #14 (9/7/36).
39. *Mei-li-ko ho-sheng-kuo chih-lueh* (*MLK*), 2:29.
40. *MLK*, 1, *hsu*, 2–3. All quotations in the paragraph are from this source.
41. *MLK*, 1:11b.
42. *MLK*, 2:1.
43. *MLK*, 2:1b–2.
44. *MLK*, 2:6b.
45. *MLK*, 2:10–17.
46. *MLK*, 2:47a–b.
47. *MLK*, 2:30–32.
48. *MLK*, 2:68b.
49. ABCFM, South China Mission, Ia, #57 (1/1/40).

Chapter 7. Justus Doolittle at Foochow: Christian Values in the Treaty Ports, by Suzanne Wilson Barnett

ABCFM papers have been used for this chapter courtesy of The United Church Board for World Ministries, New York, and Houghton Library, Harvard University.

1. ABCFM papers (on deposit at Houghton Library, Harvard University), 6, Vol. 21, Justus Doolittle to the Board, 13 November 1848, pp. 1, 3; ABCFM, 6.5.3, Vol. 1, Justus Doolittle life memorandum form dated 19 November 1849. Other sources for Doolittle's life and career include *CR* 12.1:59–63 (January–February 1881); *Auburn Theological Seminary: General Biographical Catalogue, 1818–1918,* p. 105; and Marilyn Blatt, "Problems of a China Missionary—Justus Doolittle," *Papers on China* 12:28–50.
2. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, Doolittle to the Board, 13 November 1848, p. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 1; ABCFM, 6.5.3, Vol. 1, J. Doolittle.
4. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, Doolittle to the Board, 13 November 1848, p. 3.
5. ABCFM, 6.5.3, Vol. 1, J. Doolittle.
6. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, Doolittle to the Board, 13 November 1848, p. 1.
7. David F. Allmendinger, Jr., *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England,* esp. p. 81.
8. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, H. Kendall to the Board, 16 November 1848, p. 2. John Quincy Adams, *A History of Auburn Theological Seminary, 1818–1918,* uses "new west" for New York, as p. 32.
9. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, Simeon North to the Board, 17 November 1848; Doolittle to the Board, 13 November 1848, p. 2.
10. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, Doolittle to the Board, 13 November 1848, p. 2.
11. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, S. Hickok to the Board, 14 November 1848.
12. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 21, Doolittle to the Board, 13 November 1848, pp. 3–4.
13. ABCFM, 16.3.3, Vol. 2, Doolittle to the Board, 17 January 1849.
14. ABCFM, 67, Vol. 1, Charles Hartwell Diary, 14 October 1850, refers to the *Missionary Herald* and "appeals for *men, men,* from Fuhchau, Canton, Bombay, and Syria."
15. *Missionary Herald* 43.7:224 (July 1847); *CR* 11.1:94 (March–April 1880).
16. *Missionary Herald* 43.7:225 (July 1847), 44.5:148 (May 1848), 45.7:223 (July 1849), 46.1:12 (January 1850), 47.4:128–129 (April 1851). Ellsworth C. Carlson, *The Foochow Missionaries, 1847–1880,* pp. 34, 37. *Ch. Repos.* 19.8:459–462 (August 1850). ABCFM, 67, Vol. 4, 18 October 1855.
17. *CR* 12.1:59 (January–February 1881); *Missionary Herald* 46.10: 358 (October 1850).
18. *CR* 12.1:59 (January–February 1881); *Missionary Herald* 46.10:358 (October 1850), 49.10:292 (October 1853), 52.1:10 (January 1856), 52.6:166 (June 1856). Carlson, pp. 52–53. ABCFM, 67, Vol. 4.
19. Doolittle returned to Foochow from Tientsin in late 1868 largely for reasons of health, which contributed also to his decision to resign from the American Board. In 1870–1871 he worked for Augustine Heard and Company, overlapping his time as editor of the *Chinese Recorder* (1870–1872). *CR* 1.9:191–192 (January 1869), 2.9, inside cover

and 261 (February 1870), 4.12:336 (May 1872), also 12.1:59–63 (January–February 1881).

20. *CR* 12.1:63 (January–February 1881).
21. There are two collections of tracts, with overlapping contents: [Justus Doolittle, comp.], *Ch'üan-shan liang-yen;* [Justus Doolittle, comp.], *Hsing-shih liang-kuei.*
22. ABCFM, 16.3.3, Vol. 2, C. C. Baldwin for the Foochow mission to the Board, 31 December 1855, p. 2; ABCFM, 16.3.3, Vol. 2, "Annual Tabular View" for 1855, 1856, 1857.
23. Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese,* I, 19, 36. *Missionary Herald* 43.10:357 (October 1847). ABCFM, 67, Vol. 4, 16 and 18 August 1855, 1 September 1855, 26 October 1855, 26 February 1856. Ping-ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368–1911,* esp. pp. 234, 247, 249, 266, on the "academic success" of Fukien province and Foochow prefecture.
24. [Justus Doolittle], *Yeh-su-chiao hsiao-yin,* item 9 in Doolittle, *Hsing-shih liang-kuei.* [C. C. Baldwin], *Ju Yeh-su-chiao hsiao-yin,* in Doolittle, *Ch'üan-shan liang-yen.* Wylie, pp. 180–202. Wylie's *Memorials* is the standard reference work on tracts in early Protestant China missions and provides ample evidence of the process of revision and reissue, with titles repeated; the reviewer of Wylie's book affirms the point, *CR* 1.1:9–11 (May 1868).
25. ABCFM, 16.3.3, Vol. 2, Foochow mission to the Board, 7 October 1856, p. 5.
26. ABCFM, 16.3.3, Vol. 2, "Annual Tabular View," 1855, 1856, 1857; e.g., ABCFM, 16.3.3, Vol. 2, C. C. Baldwin to the Board, 31 December 1855, p. 2.
27. ABCFM, 16.3.3, Vol. 2, Foochow mission to the Board, 29 December 1856, [p. 8.].
28. Doolittle, *Yeh-su-chiao,* p. 1.
29. Ibid., pp. 1a–b.
30. Ibid., p. 1b.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., pp. 1b–2b.
33. [Justus Doolittle], *Chung-piao-chiang lun,* item 5 in Doolittle, *Hsing-shih liang-kuei.*
34. Wylie, p. 49, lists *Shih-chung-piao-chiang yen-hsing lueh-lun,* a translation from a French tract, by Samuel Kidd, published at Malacca in 1829.
35. American Tract Society, *The American Tract Society Documents, 1824–1925,* entry 4 (26 May 1824); entry 5 (1859), p. 5. "The Watchmaker and His Family," American Tract Society, *The Publications of the American Tract Society* 3.85:285–300.
36. Doolittle, *Chung-piao-chiang,* p. 1, uses the term *kung-jen,* for "worker" or "laborer" and comments that there are many workers in Switzerland, some of them poor; "The Watchmaker and His Family" uses *mechanic,* a common nineteenth-century term, as on p. 11 (295).
37. Doolittle, *Chung-piao-chiang,* p. 1, explains that followers of Jesus rest on the seventh day, worshiping God on that day; for them there is no labor on "worship-day" (*li-pai-jih*), p. 2b.

38. Ibid., pp. 3b–4, introduces a customer whose unmet demand for watch repair work on Sunday prompts the watchmaker to declare his respect for the Sabbath, "holy day" (*sheng-jih*).
39. Ibid., pp. 7–9, 10a–b.
40. Ibid., p. 9b. Justus Doolittle, *A Vocabulary and Hand-Book of the Chinese Language, Romanized in the Mandarin Dialect,* p. 36, gives "beneficence" as the English equivalent of *shan-hsing.*
41. Doolittle, *Chung-piao-chiang,* p. 10.
42. Ibid., p. 5.
43. [Justus Doolittle], *Ch'üan-chieh ya-p'ien lun,* Foochow colloquial. [Justus Doolittle], *Ch'üan-chieh ya-p'ien lun,* literary style.
44. Doolittle, *Social Life,* e.g., II, 357, 359–360, 362.
45. Doolittle, *Ch'üan-chieh ya-p'ien lun,* literary style, p. 4. Doolittle, *Social Life,* II, 360.
46. Doolittle, *Ch'üan-chieh ya-p'ien lun,* literary style, pp. 4–5.
47. Ibid.
48. Doolittle, *Social Life,* I, [i], and e.g., I, 216, 293; II, 156, 393, 418. The full title of Doolittle's study reveals the broad scope of his inquiry: *Social Life of the Chinese: With Some Account of Their Religious, Governmental, Educational, and Business Customs and Opinions, with Special but not Exclusive Reference to Fuhchau.* A reviewer in *CR* 1.1:10 (May 1868) judged the work to be of "monumental character," and "permanent value." The outstanding earlier missionary survey also had been published while the author was home on furlough—Samuel Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom.* For models provided by early missionary accounts of Foochow society, see *Ch. Repos.* 16.10:483–500 (October 1847), 16.11:513–528 (November 1847); *Missionary Herald* 45.9:300–305 (September 1849).

    The *China Mail,* published weekly at Hong Kong beginning in 1845, is not easily accessible; see reference in John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854,* II, 67. Doolittle's articles were in *China Mail* issues of 1863–1864, when the editor was Nicholas B. Dennys, whose editorial policies were "consistently sympathetic to the Chinese"; Frank H. H. King, ed., and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers, 1822–1911,* p. 121, also pp. 58, 61.
49. Doolittle, *Social Life,* e.g., II, 213.
50. Ibid., I, 212.
51. Ibid. At other points, Doolittle also appeals to the "careful" or "thoughtful" reader for educated judgment, e.g., I, 97, 141.
52. Ibid., I, ii; II, 406, 434.
53. Ibid., I, 252.
54. Ibid., II, 318.
55. Ibid., II, 393.
56. Doolittle, *Chung-piao-chiang,* p. 10b.
57. These and other Chinese early modernizers were subjects of study in the 1930s. Gideon Chen, *Lin Tse-hsu: Pioneer Promoter of the Adoption of Western Means of Maritime Defense in China;* Gideon Chen, *Tso Tsung T'ang: Pioneer Promoter of the Modern Dockyard and the Woollen Mill in China.*

58. Cheng Kuan-ying, *Sheng-shih wei-yen,* 8:17.
59. Sung Yü-jen (1858–1931), of Fu-shun-hsien, Hsu-chou-fu, Szechwan, *Ts'ai-feng chi.*
60. Ibid., 1:6 (William Muirhead); 4:1b (Timothy Richard), 26 (Matteo Ricci), 27b (Ricci, Ferdinand Verbiest), 28b (Richard, Ricci, Verbiest); 5:2b (W. A. P. Martin). Sung was a "returned student" who had been in England in 1894 when the Sino-Japanese War erupted; ibid., 5:10.
61. Ibid., 1:8b.
62. Ibid., 1:21.
63. Ibid., 3:3b.
64. Ibid., 3:11.
65. Ibid., 4:28b.
66. Doolittle, *Social Life,* II, 213, 429–430.
67. Ibid., II, 164; see also II, 196. During Doolittle's editorship, the *Chinese Recorder* carried a critique of the Chinese literati; *CR* 3.11:327–330 (April 1871).
68. Doolittle, *Social Life,* II, 156; see also II, 424–425.
69. Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology,* p. 21.
70. Shen Pao-chen, *Shen Wen-su kung (Pao-chen) cheng-shu,* ed. Wu Yuan-ping, repr. in 2 vols in *Chin-tai Chung-kuo shih-liao ts'ung-k'an,* 4:6b.

Chapter 8. Christianity and Chinese Sects: Religious Tracts in the Late Nineteenth Century, by Daniel H. Bays

I wish to thank the General Research Fund of the University of Kansas for supporting my research on this topic.

1. For a rather broad treatment of this theme, see my "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 4.7:33–55 (June 1982).
2. In the late nineteenth century, a few missionary scholars and J.J.M. De Groot (who was not a missionary) in his *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China,* studied these sects, but there seems to have been little further academic discussion of such sects until recent years, except in Japan. See the discussion of Japanese scholarship by Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China,* pp. 40, 45–46, 50–51; Japanese-language works not utilized by Overmyer are discussed by T.H. Barrett in a long review in *Modern Asian Studies* 12.1:333–347 (April 1978). C.K. Yang, in his *Religion in Chinese Society,* took the sectarian tradition seriously enough to call it a "third form of institutional religion" (p. 301). Two important books, Overmyer's *Folk Buddhist Religion* and Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813,* have stimulated a renewed interest in the sectarian tradition. Most of these sects stemmed from one of a few general traditions, for example the White Lotus or the Lo-chiao. See Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion,* Chapter 3, "History of Interpretation," on the nature of these groups; Naquin, part 1, studies the Eight Trigrams sect and its religious beliefs. More recently, Naquin has added another case study to our available

inventory of careful studies of sects. See *Shantung Rebellion: The Wang Lun Uprising of 1774.*

3. This question of the agenda of secret societies is dealt with directly in Lu Pao-ch'ien, *Lun wan-Ch'ing liang-Kuang ti T'ien-ti-hui cheng-ch'üan,* pp. 71–79; and Maureen F. Dillon, "The Triads in Shanghai: The Small Sword Uprising, 1853–1855," *Papers on China* 23:67–86 (1970). Also see C.K. Yang's comments, pp. 62–64. Ssu-yü Teng has recently translated and published an important essay by the late Ch'ing revolutionary T'ao Ch'eng-chang (1878–1912), who worked directly with various clandestine groups, mainly secret societies. T'ao correctly noted a general north-south division, and certain organizational differences, between *chiao* and *hui,* though his analysis was rather rough. See T'ao Ch'eng-chang, "The Evolution of China's Secret Sects and Societies," *Renditions* 15:81–102 (Spring 1981).
4. See Naquin, *Shantung Rebellion,* pp. 48–61, for a thoughtful discussion. Also see Stevan Harrell and Elizabeth J. Perry, "Syncretic Sects in Chinese Society: An Introduction," *Modern China* 8.3:283–303 (July 1982), for an attempt to classify sectarian beliefs and activities in major categories.
5. This point is stressed repeatedly by De Groot. C.K. Yang, pp. 192–210, has an excellent discussion. A recent case study of a sect that never crossed over into political action is Richard Shek, "Millenarianism Without Rebellion: The Huangtian Dao in North China," *Modern China* 8.3:305–336 (July 1982).
6. See the comments by Daniel L. Overmyer in "Alternatives: Popular Religious Sects in Chinese Society," *Modern China* 7.2:153–156 (April 1981); also Harrell and Perry, "Syncretic Sects," pp. 283–285.
7. This statement is for the most part based on the examples given throughout Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion,* and De Groot. The local sects that De Groot personally researched and described in great detail were in Amoy.
8. "Sketches of a Country Parish," *CR* 12.4:246 (1881). In this, he has hit upon the exact distinction made by Naquin, as described above and cited in note 4.
9. Ibid., pp. 248–250. Arthur Smith notes that this group had no literature or scriptures, so the leader's directives were all important.
10. Ibid., p. 250.
11. Ibid., pp. 322–325.
12. D. H. Porter, "Secret Sects in Shantung," *CR* 17.1:1–5 (1882).
13. D. H. Porter, "A Modern Shantung Prophet," *CR* 18.1:12–21 (1887).
14. D. H. Porter, "Hou Sheng Ch'ing, A Native Preacher," *CR* 18.5:183–187 (1887).
15. F. H. James, "The Secret Sects of Shantung, with Appendix," pp. 196–202.
16. Ibid.
17. For the information in this paragraph I am indebted to David D. Buck, who has used various publications of the Society of the Divine Word in his own research.

18. Joseph Edkins, "Religious Sects in North China," *CR* 17.7:251 (1886); J. Macgowan's comment in *CR* 19.1:7 (1888).
19. Letters of John W. Brewer dated 5 March 1880, and 6 June 1881, WMMS, Central China files. LMS report for 1887, in Central China Reports, 1866–1900, Box 1. As early as 1865, Griffith John described one of his first two native evangelists in Hankow as a former "ascetic recluse"; it is unclear whether the man had a real sectarian background. The Wuhan missionaries do not seem to have become conscious of the sects around them until later, in the 1870s; John to General Secretary, 29 December 1865, LMS Central China, Box 3, folder 2, jacket B. For the anti-vegetarian tract, see *CR* 12.2:102 (1881) and MacGillivray, p. 97. George Miles, "Vegetarian Sects," *CR* 33.1:1–10 (1902), gives a detailed description of the doctrines and organization of the Yao-ch'ih sect in Hupei derived from former members who were now Christians.
20. Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (USA), *Annual Report,* 1879, p. 68. The report for 1885, p. 111, indicates continuing strong interest in "Tong-yiang" (this district may be T'ung-an).
21. Mary Backus Rankin, "The Ku-t'ien Incident (1895): Christians versus the Ts'ai-hui," *Papers on China* 15:30–61 (1961), esp. 37–38. The Ta'ai-hui may have been something of a hybrid organization, since it stressed vegetarianism but used the appellation *hui* rather than *chiao.*
22. De Groot, p. 192.
23. For more detail on this theme, see my "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition," pp. 36–45.
24. I base my summary of sect beliefs and practices largely on Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion,* and to some extent on the case studies in De Groot and Naquin. There is also an excellent brief discussion in C.K. Yang, pp. 229–239.
25. This creator or supreme god was often called *wu-sheng lao-mu* or *wu-sheng fu-mu,* but also could be called *shang-ti.* The savior was often the Maitreya Buddha or a version thereof.
26. Maurice Freedman, in *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China,* p. 32, writes that, even in kinship groups, "beyond domestic units the formal roles of women disappear." The judgment that traditional approved social units had no formal role for women does not seem to be significantly qualified by the essays in *Women in Chinese Society,* ed. Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke. Also see the comments on the role of women in traditional sectarian activities in Daniel L. Overmyer, "Alternatives," pp. 165–167. For patterns of female conversion to Christianity, see Charlotte L. Beahan, "The Women's Movement and Nationalism in Late Ch'ing China," esp. Chapter 2; and Helen Foster Snow, *Women in Modern China,* esp. the chapter "Women and Christianity," pp. 70–90; also Christian yearbooks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.
27. For the forbidding of ancestor worship, see Yuji Muramatsu, "Some Themes in Chinese Rebel Ideologies," in *The Confucian Persuasion,* ed. Arthur F. Wright, p. 247. De Groot, p. 563, makes references to sectarians of the 1860s (other than Taipings) who apparently destroyed ancestor tablets.
28. Arthur H. Smith, "Sketches of a Country Parish," p. 324.

29. Arthur H. Smith, "Missionary Experiments in Central Shantung," *CR* 19.2:60 (1888).
30. Three important sources describe these materials. Nineteen items are listed by title alone in W.A.P. Martin, "The Native Tract Literature of China," *CR* 18.10:374 (1887). Sixteen more are described in some detail in Joseph Edkins, "The Books of the Modern Religious Sects in North China," *CR* 19.6:261–68, 302–10 (1888). Another list of 50 is in F.H. James, "The Secret Sects of Shantung, with Appendix."
31. James, "The Secret Sects," p. 202.
32. I must retract a claim I have previously made, that this batch of literature consisted mostly of sectarian tracts. See "Christianity and the Chinese Sectarian Tradition," p. 41.
33. James, p. 202.
34. Ibid., pp. 200–201. He includes a few comments about each of the 10.
35. Martin, "The Native Tract Literature of China," p. 373.
36. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms,* comp. W.E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous. This is not even to address the question of recognizably Taoist terms. On translation and transliteration of foreign concepts and words into Chinese, including Buddhist and Christian ones, see Arthur F. Wright, "The Chinese Language and Foreign Ideas," pp. 286–303; also the symposium of three articles by Wright et al., "Chinese Reactions to Foreign Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12.1:31–74 (1951).
37. Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung,* pp. 76–77. The original title of the catechism was *Yeh-su chiao wen-ta.*
38. An 1880 edition of the catechism under the title *Sheng-chiao wen-ta* (Catechism of sacred doctrine), in 34 leaves, is in the ABCFM collection. See p. 14 of that edition.
39. For fragments of information on the Chin-tan, see Richard Shek, "The Revolt of the Zaili, Jindan Sects in Rehe (Jehol), 1891," *Modern China* 6.2:162–163 (1980).
40. Edkins, "The Books of the Modern Religious Sects in North China."
41. Ibid.
42. See Naquin's comment, in *Shantung Rebellion,* pp. 53–54, that the building of sectarian halls and temples became more common in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Still, as late as the 1890s, sectarians in Shantung were apparently still feeling much government harassment.
43. See note 11 above.
44. Porter, "A Modern Shantung Prophet."
45. Ibid.
46. Edkins, "The Books of the Modern Religious Sects of North China."

Chapter 9. Elementary Education in the Mission Enterprise, by Evelyn S. Rawski

1. *Ch. Repos.* 1:104–105 (1832–33); 2:41–45 (1833–34); 5:90–91 (1836–37) describe mission schools for Chinese in Malacca; 3:221–230 (1834–35) describes Penang mission schools. Schools in Singapore are cited in

3:387–388 (1834–35); 10:53–54 (1841). For schools in Batavia, see 2:521–522 (1833–34).

2. Ibid. 13:648 (1844).
3. Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half-Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810–1860.*
4. A. J. Gordon, "Education and Missions," *CR* 25:66–72 (1894); Jessie G. Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850–1950,* p. 16, cites arguments at the Liverpool International Missionary Conference in 1860 and the 1877 Shanghai Missionary Conference.
5. Lutz, p. 25. Figures cited are from *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China,* 1877, p. 486; *CR* 18:126 (1887); 30-144–145 (1899). But the *China Centenary Missionary Conference, Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907,* Table 8, p. 777, lists only 966 day/primary schools enrolling 19,884 students.
6. Clifton J. Phillips, "The Student Volunteer Movement and Its Role in China Missions, 1886–1920," in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America,* ed. Fairbank, pp. 91–109; William R. Hutchison, "Modernism and Missions: The Liberal Search for an Exportable Christianity, 1875–1935," ibid., pp. 110–131.
7. Lutz, pp. 14–15.
8. Evelyn S. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China.*
9. T'ai-ch'u Liao, "Rural Education in Transition: A Study of Old-fashioned Chinese Schools (Szu Shu) in Shantung and Szechwan," *Yenching Journal of Social Studies* 4.2:33 (1949).
10. [Ch'ien-t'ang] Ch'en Wen-shu's regulations for charitable schools, in Yü Chih, *Te-i lu,* chüan 10.3, 1a–b. See Donald J. Munro, *The Concept of Man in Contemporary China.*
11. Reverend E. H. Thomson, "Day Schools," in *Records of the General Conference,* 1877, p. 182.
12. T'ung Chen-chia, "Ch'ing-mo hsiao-hsueh chiao-yü chih yen-pien," (Evaluation of late Ch'ing elementary education), *Shih-ta yueh-k'an* 21:127 (1935); Ch'en Tung-yuan, *Chung-kuo chiao-yü shih,* pp. 427–428; Wang Feng-chieh, ed., *Chung-kuo chiao-yü shih,* p. 165. The most detailed discussion of the origins and subsequent revisions of these primers is provided by Chang Chih-kung, *Ch'uan-t'ung yü-wen chiao-yü ch'u-tan,* pp. 6–25.
13. Chang Chih-kung, pp. 6–10, 11–16, 154–157.
14. Ibid., pp. 16–21; versions of the *Trimetrical Classic* are listed on pp. 158–159; versions of the *Hundred Names* are on pp. 21–25, 157–158.
15. Ibid., pp. 32–35.
16. Ibid., pp. 32–36.
17. The program of study for those preparing to take the civil service examinations is described by Ch'en Tung-yuan, pp. 52–59.
18. *Ch. Repos.* 5:377 (1836–1937).
19. Accounts of this school are found in the Annual Reports of the Morrison Education Society, *Ch. Repos.* 6:229–244 (1837–38); 7:301–310 (1838–39); 10:564–587 (1841); 11:541–557 (1842).
20. "The District School As It Was," cited by Lawrence A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception,* pp. 183–184.

21. Ibid., p. 184.
22. "What I Have Seen in Shanghai: Protestant missions," *Ch. Repos.* 18:519, 522–523 (1849); Lutz, pp. 15–16.
23. Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess,* pp. 160–162, 164, 166; Laura A. Haygood, "The Day-School—Additional Thoughts," *CR* 23:207–208 (1892); W. P. Bentley, "Principles of Education," *CR* 23:366 (1892).
24. *Records of the General Conference,* 1877, pp. 202–203.
25. Lutz, pp. 69–71; *CR* 20:469–471 (1889).
26. Reverend O. F. Wisner, in *China Centenary Missionary Conference,* p. 481.
27. "Second Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society," *Ch. Repos.* 7:306–307 (1838–39); *Records of the General Conference,* 1877, p. 193. The struggle to enroll girls in schools lasted through most of the century; see *Records of the General Conference,* 1877, pp. 186–188, 199–200.
28. "To what Extent should we teach the Chinese Classics in our Mission Schools?" *CR* 24:570 (1893). Cited below as Hartwell.
29. "Tseën Tsze Wăn, or the Thousand-Character Classic: its form, size, object, style, and author, a translation with notes; new books needed for primary education of the Chinese," *Ch. Repos.* 4:2–43 (1835–36).
30. "Santsze King, or Trimetrical Classic; its form, size, author, object, and style; a translation with notes; the work ill adapted to the purposes of primary education," *Ch. Repos.* 4:111–118 (1835–36). See discussions of various translations of this text in Williams, I, 527–530.
31. "Mode of teaching the Chinese language; defects of the present method; desirableness of a new one, with suggestions respecting its introduction," *Ch. Repos.* 5:62 (1836–37).
32. C. F. Kupfer, "Dangers and Advantages of Day-Schools," *CR* 24:108 (1893).
33. Hartwell, p. 569.
34. "Country Day Schools," *CR* 20:365 (1889).
35. Philosinensis, "Christian Missions in China: Remarks on the Means and Measures for Extending and Establishing Christianity; Namely, the Preaching of the Gospel, Schools, Publication of Books, Charities, etc.," *Ch. Repos.* 3:564–565 (1834–35); Hartwell, p. 569. The Japanese colonial regime faced similar difficulties in inducing Taiwanese to attend Japanese-run schools; see E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945,* pp. 19–21.
36. "Remarks," *CR* 23:212 (1892).
37. On the Mateer school, see Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess,* pp. 166–167. F. E. Meigs, "Serious Questions for Educators," *CR* 25:538–539 (1894), argued that the examination success rate of mission-school students was too low to justify the class time devoted to the Chinese classics.
38. J. Hackson, "Objects, Methods, and Results of Higher Education in Our Mission Schools," *CR* 23:558 (1892); Bentley, "Principles of Education," p. 366.
39. C. W. Mateer, "Chinese Education," *CR* 14:463–469 (1883).
40. "Mission Day-schools for the Chinese," *CR* 28:39 (1897).
41. *CR* 24:481 (1893).
42. Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess,* pp. 160–161; Hartwell, p. 573;

Archdeacon E. H. Thomson, "Day-Schools—How to Conduct Them," *CR* 23:204 (1892); "Courses of Study for American Board Mission Schools, Foochow, China, 1899."

43. *Ch. Repos.* 16:371–382 (1847).
44. Wylie, p. 185.
45. Ibid., p. 192.
46. Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, *Annual Report 1874,* p. 61; *A Classified Index to the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Christian Churches in China,* p. 185.
47. Williams, I, 530.
48. Call numbers TA 1980.5/54, /54a, /54b, /54c; also part of 1980.2/19.1. Wylie, p. 27; on p. 185, Wylie lists an annotated version of Medhurst's *Trimetrical Classic,* printed in Hong Kong in 1857 and reprinted in 1863, but see note to version 4 below.
49. Call number TA 1980.5/50; published ca. 1832. See Wylie, p. 40. Sophia Martin was the sister of Mrs. Walter H. Medhurst.
50. Call number TA 1980.5/36.1g.
51. Call numbers TA 1980.5/36.1, /36.1a, /36.1b; the last copy has a handwritten note on its cover: "One of the best loved and most widely used books ever published in Foochow." /36.1a, published in Canton in 1900, is entitled *Mai-shih san-tzu ching,* the same title identified by Wylie (see note 48 above) as Medhurst's version. Examination of the book's contents, however, shows that the text is identical with version 4.
52. Call number TA 1980.5/08; published in Peking.
53. "Remarks on the Early Distribution and Preparation of Christian Literature," in the *Ninth Annual Report and Catalogue of the N. Fuhkien Religious Tract Society for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1901,* pp. 7–13.
54. *CR* 25:329–336 (1894).
55. John L. Darroch, "Christian Literature," in *China Centenary Missionary Conference,* pp. 192–211.
56. *Ch. Repos.* 15:464 (1846). See Rev. John C. Gibson, "Christian Terminology in Chinese," *CR* 23:259 (1892).
57. *Ch. Repos.* 17:649 (1848).
58. Version 1 uses *shen-chu;* version 2, *shen* or *shen-t'ien;* version 3, *shang-ti* or *chu;* version 4, *shang-ti;* and version 5, *chen shen-chu* or *t'ien-chu.*
59. Gibson, p. 259. All the tracts used variants of *ling, ling-hun,* or *hun-ling* to denote "soul." Hell was *ti-yü* in versions 2, 4, and 5; Heaven was *t'ien-t'ang* in versions 2 and 4.
60. *Ch. Repos.* 15:577–601 (1846).
61. *Wan-ts'an* is found in version 1; versions 3 and 4 use *shou-ts'an* (to confer delicacies), while version 5 uses *sheng-ts'an* (sacred delicacies).

Chapter 10. Chinese and American Characteristics: Arthur H. Smith and His China Book, by Charles W. Hayford

1. *CR* 56:299–305 (1925).
2. See Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877–1920;* Redmond J. Barnett, "Culture and Ideology: The Making of the Respectable Middle Class"; Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism:*

The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America.

3. H. D. Porter, "Arthur Smith in Microscope," ABCFM, 16.3.12, Vol. 23, North China Mission #233, January 1908.
4. Ibid.
5. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 31, #83, 11 February 1868.
6. ABCFM, 6, Vol. 31, #83, 10 March 1869.
7. S. A. "On Preaching to the Chinese," *CR,* 1.9:175 (January 1869).
8. *The Middle Kingdom,* rev. ed., II, 368–369.
9. For Orientalists in India, see David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773–1835.*
10. Arthur Smith, "The Best Method of Presenting the Gospel to the Chinese," *CR,* 14.5:400 (September–October 1883).
11. Arthur Smith, "The Best Method of Presenting the Gospel to the Chinese (II)," *CR,* 14.6:431 (November–December 1883).
12. H. D. Porter, "A Modern Shantung Prophet," *CR* 18.1:181 (January 1887).
13. Arthur H. Smith, "Sketches of a Country Parish," *CR* 12.4:431 (July–August 1881).
14. H. D. Porter, "Hou Sheng Ch'ing, A Native Preacher," *CR* 18.5:183–187 (May 1887). A. B. deHaan, "Pankiachuang, Shantung—A Successful Country Station," *CMYB,* 1915, pp. 257–265.
15. Smith/Clark ABCFM, 16.3.12, Vol. 5, North China Letters, 20 July 1880, #88.
16. Smith/Clark ABCFM, 16.3.12, Vol. 5, North China Letters, 20 July 1880, #88.
17. Smith, "Sketches . . . III," *CR,* 13.4:280 (July–August 1882).
18. This is not to imply that women professed Christianity for insincere reasons, only that their allegiance posed particular problems for the foreign missionary.
19. Smith, "Sketches . . . II," *CR* 12.5:317 (September–October 1881).
20. The material in the book appeared, in somewhat longer form, in a series of articles in the *North China Daily News* during the late 1880s. Unfortunately, these issues do not appear to have survived, as they are not included in the microfilm. A selected version of the essays was published in book form in Shanghai in 1890. It was then taken up by the American evangelical publishing house Fleming H. Revell, and at least 5 editions came out in 1894, both in America and Great Britain. The book was translated into several European languages, then into Japanese. The Harvard-Yenching Library has a copy of a Chinese translation presented to the American Board by Smith himself, which notes that it was translated from the Japanese. Dr. Tam Yue-him of the New Asia College History Department, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, informs me that the publisher, Tso hsin she, was run by a Japanese Christian educator, Ms. Shimoda Utako. She ran a prestigious girls' school in Shanghai, and was an associate of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's. The publishing house was later merged with Liang's Kuang-chih shu-chü. There appear to be no substantive differences among the English-language editions.

21. *Chinese Characteristics* (*CC*), pp. 19, 319. The concluding essay is titled "The Real China and Her Present Needs."
22. *CC*, p. 105.
23. *CC*, p. 328.
24. *CC*, p. 326.
25. *CC*, p. 323.
26. *CC*, p. 329.
27. *CC*, p. 327.
28. Justus Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, I, 41, 55.
29. John L. Nevius, *China and the Chinese*, p. 281.
30. *CC*, p. 318.
31. *CC*, p. 195.
32. *CC*, p. 153.
33. *CC*, pp. 238, 239, 241.
34. *CC*, p. 127. See, for instance, B. C. Henry, "Chinese Dress in the Shanghai Conference," *CR* 21.12:550–552 (December 1890), which notes that fully a quarter of those in attendance wore "native dress."
35. *CC*, p. 135.
36. *CC*, pp. 92–94.
37. *American Nervousness*, p. 176. I am grateful to Professor Geoffrey Blodgett, Department of History, Oberlin College, for drawing this book to my attention. See also *Dictionary of American Biography;* Barbara Sicherman, "The Uses of Diagnosis: Doctors, Patients, and Neurasthenia," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 32:33–54 (January 1977).
38. *American Nervousness*, pp. 180–181. Beard notes the dramatic results produced by bad air on the civilized American: ". . . he becomes more nervous; his face perhaps flushes, his head aches, there is a sensation of suffocation and vague misery that finds quick relief on getting into open air, and injunctions to live as much as possible out of doors, and to get away from cities and city life are among the truisms of sanitary science," while the Chinese, "huddled and herded together like sheep, of course breathe, by day as by night, an atmosphere as vile as it can be made by human breathing and human emanations, but seem to develop no form of nervous disease," p. 175.
39. *CC*, p. 97.
40. *CC*, p. 318.
41. *CC*, p. 288. Invidious comparison with India is in the background of much missionary discussion of China.
42. *CC*, p. 271.
43. *CC*, p. 272.
44. *CC*, p. 281.
45. *Sincerity and Authenticity*, pp. 2 *ff.* See also his remarks on Emerson's *English Traits* on pp. 125–126.
46. *Guilt and Sin in Traditional China*, pp. 20 *ff;* Francis Hsu, *Americans and Chinese*, Chapter 9, "Two Kinds of Religion," esp. p. 245, note 18. Smith in *CC* presents papers "of purpose not intended to represent the point of view of a missionary" (p. 14) and does not go into the problems of adapting Christianity to China. But elsewhere he states that the "lack of sense of sin" is one of the "formidable obstacles

arising from the Chinese character in the way of a proportioned Christian life," and that "insincerity" is the "worst and most fatal" obstacle. "On the Best Means of Deepening the Spiritual Life of the Chinese," *CR* 30.8:384 (August 1899).

47. *Analects,* II.4. See also Thomas A. Metzger, *Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture,* passim, esp. pp. 42–45, on the problem of individualism.
48. *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era,* p.134.

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GLOSSARY

Afa. *See* Liang Fa

Chai-chiao (sect) 齋教
Chang Hsien-te 張現德
Ch'ao-kuang chiao 朝光教
chen 真
chen-shen 真神
chen-shen-chu 真神主
cheng 正
cheng-chiao 正教
Cheng-ho 鄭和
Ch'eng-Chu 程朱
ch'i 氣
chia 假
Chia I erh-yu lun-shu 甲乙二友論述
chiao 教
Chiao-hui hsin-pao 教會新報
chieh 戒
chien-ai shang-t'ung 兼愛尚同
Ch'ien tzu wen 千字文
chih 知
chin-shih 進士
Chin-tan chiao 金丹教
ch'in shou 禽獸
ching (respect) 敬
ching (scriptures) 經
ch'ing 情
ch'ing-hsing 情形
chiu 救
chiu-chu 救主

chiu-shih-che 救世者
chu 主
chü-jen 舉人
ch'ü-o ts'ung-shan 去惡從善
ch'uan-chiao 傳教
chüan 卷
ch'üan neng 勸能
Ch'üan-shih liang-yen 勸世良言
chün-tzu 君子
chung li 重利
Chung-yang *men* 中央門

Fa-lu chiao 法路教
Fei-la-ti-fei 費拉地費
fu 福
fu-ch'iang 富强

Hai-kuo t'u-chih 海國圖志
Hai-tao i-chih 海島逸志
Hok-ha 客家
Hou-kuan-hsien 侯官縣
his-ch'i 習氣
hsiang-ai 相愛
hsiao (disperse) 消
hsiao (filiality) 孝
Hsiao-ching 孝敬
hsiao-hsin 孝心
hsieh 邪
Hsien-t'ien (sect) 先天
hsin 信
hsin Ye-su 信耶穌
Hsing-shih liang-kuei 醒世良規
hsing-tzu 性子
Hsun-nü san-tzu ching 訓女三字經
Hsun-tzu wen-ta 訓子問答
Hua-sheng-tun 華盛頓
hui (society) 會
hui (repentance) 悔
hui-kai 悔改
hui-li 會吏
hui-tsui 悔罪
hun-ling 魂靈
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全
Hung-Yang (sect) 洪楊

i (rightness, righteousness, benevolence) 義
i (heterodox, different) 異
I-ching 易經
I-ta-li 伊大理

jen 仁
jen-lun 人倫
ju 儒
Jui-shih-kuo 瑞士國
jung-yao 榮耀

kai-o kuei-shan 改惡歸善
Ko-lao hui 哥老會
Ko-lun-pu 哥倫布
Ko-pan-ni-ku 個班慝固
Ku-ti'ien (district) 古田
Kuan-tzu 管子
Kuan-yin 觀音
Kuan-yin ching 觀音經

kuei-jung 貴榮
kung 功
kung-jen 工人
kung-lao 功勞
kung-tso 工作
kuo-chia 國家
kuo-fu 國父
kuo-fu, ping-ch'iang 國富兵強

li (measure of distance) 里
li (principle) 理
li (propriety, ceremony, worship) 禮
li-pai-jih 禮拜日
Liang A-fa 梁阿發
Liang Fa 梁發
Liang-yu hsiang-lun 兩友相論
Lin Tse-hsu 林則徐
Lin Yu-sheng 林毓生
ling 靈
ling-hun 靈魂
Lo-chiao 羅教
Lu Hsun 魯迅
Lü-tsu hsien-shih t'iao-kuei 呂祖先師條規
lun-ch'ang 倫常
lun-hui 輪迴
Lun-yü 論語

Ma-ch'i-lan 馬其蘭
Ma-sha-chu-hsieh 馬沙諸些
Mai-shih san-tzu ching 麥氏三字經
Mei-le-keen-kwok (Mi-li-chien kuo) 米利堅國
Mei-li-ko 美理哥
Mi-mi-chiao 秘密教
mi-mi she-hui 秘密社會
mieh-hsing 滅性
mien 免
mien-tsui 免罪
Min (River) 閩
min-chu 民主

Nan-yang 南洋

o-che 惡者
o-ch'u 惡處
o-jen 惡人
o yu o-pao 惡有惡報

Pa-kua chiao 八卦教
Pai chia hsing 百家姓
pai-hua 白話
Pai-lien chiao 白蓮教
P'an Ku 盤古
P'ang-chia-chuang 龐家庄
P'ang-chuang. *See* P'ang-chia-chuang
pao-chüan 寶卷
pei-li 悖理
pen-chih 本質
Pi-hsieh chi-shih 辟邪紀實
P'i-li-mou 玭理某
p'ing-teng 平等
Po-shih-tun 波士頓
pu-hsiao 不孝

Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫
san 散
san-kang 三綱
San-Pai-Ch'ien 三百千
San-tzu ching 三字經
San-yi t'an-yuan 三易探原
shan-che 善者
shan-hsing 善行
shan-jen 善人
shan-shu 善書
shan-yang 山羊
shang ching shen, hsia ai jen 上敬神，下愛人
shang-chu 上主
shang-ti 上帝
she-mien 赦免
she-tsui 赦罪
shen 神
shen-chu 神主
Shen Pao-chen 沈葆楨
shen-t'ien 神天
Shen Tzu-hsing 沈子星
sheng 盛
Sheng-chiao wen-ta 聖教問答
Sheng-hsien chiao 聖賢教
sheng-jih 聖日
sheng-li 聖理
sheng-ling 聖靈
sheng-shen 聖神
sheng-ts'an 聖餐
Shih-chai chih-mi 食齋指迷
Shih-chung-piao-chiang yen-hsing lueh-lun 時鐘表匠言行略論
shih-fu ("true good fortune") 實福
shih-fu (country pastor) 士傅
shih-shang ti hao-ch'u 世上的好處
Shimoda Utako 下田歌子
shin 神
shou-ts'an 授餐
shu 贖
shu-min 庶民
shu-tsui 贖罪
shun 順
ssu-che fu-huo 死者復活
Ssu-ch'uan chiao 四川教
ssu-li fu-huo 死裏復活
Ssu-tzu ching 四字經
Su Fa-ling 蘇發令
Su Tung-p'o 蘇東坡
Sung Yü-jen 宋育仁

ta-neng ta-li 大能大力
ta-te 大德
T'ai-yang chiao 太陽教
tao 道
te (virtue) 德
te (to gain [heaven]) 得
Te-chou 德州
ti chih ch'ing 地之情
ti-shang ti shih 地上的事
ti-yü 地獄
t'ien 天
t'ien chih ch'ing 天之情
t'ien-chu 天主
T'ien-chu chiao 天主教
t'ien-hsia 天下
t'ien-kuo ti hao-ch'u 天國的好處
t'ien-lu chih-ming 天路指明

T'ien-ming li 天命例
t'ien-shang ti shih 天上的事
t'ien-t'ang 天堂
t'ien-ti chih ta-chu 天地之大主
t'o 脫
Tong-yiang. *See* T'ung-an
tsai-ti chih shih 在地之事
tsai-t'ien chih shih 在天之事
Ts'ai-hui (sect) 菜會
tso-tao 左道
tsui 罪
tsui-chih she 罪之赦
tsui-jen 罪人
T'ung-an (Tong-yiang) 同安
t'ung-shang 通商

wan-ts'an 晚餐
Wang Lun 王倫
Wang Ta-hai 王大海
Wang T'ao 王韜
Wei Yuan 魏源
wen-li 文理
wen-ta 問答
wen-yen 文言
wu-ch'ang 五常
wu-ch'iung ti fu 無窮的福
wu-lun 五倫
wu-sheng fu-mu 無生父母
wu-sheng lao-mu 無生老母

yang (sheep) 羊
yang (opposite of *yin*) 陽
Yang Kuang-hsien 楊光先
Yao-ch'ih (sect) 瑤池
Yeh-hua-shen 耶華神
Yeh-su chiao 耶穌教
"Yeh-su-chiao hsiao-yin" 耶穌教小引
Yeh-su chiao lueh 耶穌教略
Yeh-su chiao wen-ta 耶穌教問答
Yeh-su sheng-ching 耶穌聖經
Yeh Tu-hua 葉櫝花
yin 陰
Ying-huan chih-lueh 瀛環志略
yu-tsui 有罪
yung-fu 永福
yung-k'u 永苦

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